

Grammar of Central Trentino

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Romance Languages

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Grammar of Central Trentino

A Romance Dialect from North-East Italy

By

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Casalicchio, Jan, author. | Cordin, Patrizia, author.

Title: Grammar of central Trentino : a romance dialect from North-East Italy /
by Jan Casalicchio, Patrizia Cordin.

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2020. | Series: Grammars and sketches of the
world's languages, Romance languages, 23529342 ; 13 | Includes bibliographical
references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2020020279 | ISBN 9789004430952 (hardback) |
ISBN 9789004430976 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Italian language--Dialects--Italy--Trentino-Alto Adige. | Italian
language--Grammar.

Classification: LCC PC1845 .C37 2020 | DDC 457/.945385--dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2020020279>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2352-9342

ISBN 978-90-04-43095-2 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-43097-6 (e-book)

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations Used in the Text

A	adjective
CT	Central Trentino
D	determiner
DP	Determiner Phrase
Engl.	English
Fr.	French
Germ.	German
It.	Italian
Lat.	Latin
lit.	literal translation
N	noun
NP	Noun Phrase
P	preposition
PP	Prepositional Phrase
Sp.	Spanish
V	verb
VL	verb + locative construction

Abbreviations Used in the Glosses

AUX.CL	auxiliary clitic pronoun (clitic pronoun that is used in Piedmontese with auxiliary verbs only)
CL	clitic pronoun
COND	conditional mood
DAT.CL	dative clitic pronoun
F	feminine
IMP	imperative
IMPERS.CL	impersonal clitic pronoun
IND	indicative
IND.OBJ.CL	indirect object clitic pronoun
INF	infinitive
M	masculine
NEG	negation
OBJ.CL	object clitic pronoun

PART	particle
PL	plural
PTCP	participle
REFL.CL	reflexive clitic pronoun
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
SUBJ	subject

Introduction

The grammars of the Italian dialects offer an inexhaustible field of research, and perfect conditions for the observation of synchronic and diachronic linguistic variation.* Since the dialectal varieties are little codified, they manifest some phenomena that have been marginalized in standard languages.¹ Moreover, the study of variation between close dialects (micro-variation) can deepen our understanding of syntactic structures, as Benincà (1996: 7) notes: “Le varietà dialettali geneticamente affini offrono l’opportunità di osservare un quadro spesso ricchissimo delle possibilità di scelta, non solo fra esiti diversi a partire da un antenato comune, ma anche in una prospettiva sincronica, fra diverse realizzazioni di uno stesso sistema grammaticale.”²

Many important recent studies have tackled specific syntactic phenomena in several Italian dialects. However, a considerable amount of work remains to be done, especially with regard to recording and cataloguing the diversity attested within local Italian dialects, and producing detailed synchronic and diachronic descriptions of individual syntactic systems.³ Like numerous other Italian dialects, the varieties spoken in Trentino have been the subject of several studies, but no systematic grammar is available (neither in Italian nor in English).

Trentino dialects belong to the system of Northern Italian dialects. Northern Italy is a coherent linguistic sub-area of Romance with a unitary character, despite its rich dialectal variation. It is important to note that the dialects spoken in Trentino do not form an independent linguistic group. Linguistically, it is a

* This grammar is the result of a fruitful and constant exchange between the two authors and every chapter has been the subject of joint discussion. Jan Casalicchio, however, wrote Chapters 5–9 and Patrizia Cordin Chapters 1–4 and 10.

- 1 Consider, for example, certain so-called “redundant” forms, such as the repetition of complementisers that introduce embedded sentences. This phenomenon is not unusual in dialects. Stussi (1965: LXVII) believes the repetition to be a manifestation of “ridondanze per così dire chiarificatrici” (‘redundancies that are, so to say, clarifying’). Actually, the double complementiser, which is attested in many dialects, brings to the surface a structure of the sentence that standard languages do not manifest.
- 2 “Genetically related dialectal varieties offer the opportunity to observe an often very rich picture of the possibilities of choice, not only between different outcomes starting from a common ancestor, but also in a synchronic perspective, between different instances of the same grammatical system.”
- 3 There are notable exceptions; for instance, Jones (1983) on the Sardinian syntax, Loporcaro (1988) on the Altamura dialect, Ledgeway (2009) on the diachronic grammar of Neapolitan.

transition area, where both Lombard and Venetan varieties are spoken. Most notably, the focus of this grammar, namely the territory of Central Trentino (which includes the city of Trento and some surrounding valleys), is linguistically mixed: both Gallo-Italic (Lombard) and Venetan features are attested. Central Trentino varieties are closely related to neighbouring dialects and are, in most cases, very evidently structurally homogeneous. A strong tendency to substitute analytic for synthetic forms, the use of various types of negative marker with different positions in the sentence structure, and the presence of subject clitic pronouns (with variable degrees of obligatoriness) are some of the main grammatical characteristics common to all the northern Italian varieties upon which many scholars have chosen to focus. They are all attested in Trentino dialects, and illustrated in this Grammar.

Close dialects may diverge only minimally. Small, superficial differences allow the linguist to observe what lies below the surface.⁴ In this grammar, therefore, Central Trentino varieties are continuously compared not only to Italian, due to the influence of this language on the dialect, but also to other Romance varieties spoken in the Province of Trento, such as Eastern and Western Trentino dialects, and *val di Non* and *val di Sole* dialects, which all share many features with Central Trentino (see §1.2). Moreover, we also consider other Northern Italian dialects, such as Lombard and Venetan dialects (see §1.1). Other varieties, such as French, Spanish or southern Italian dialects, are sometimes referred to as well.

This grammar aims to offer a comprehensive description of the main morpho-syntactic properties of Central Trentino, including some pragmatic phenomena. We chose to focus on these levels of description for various reasons. First of all, most studies on Trentino dialects concern lexical aspects, and several dictionaries of the local varieties of Central Trentino have been published (see ALTR 2005 for a complete list). This is not only the case for Central Trentino: in the whole Romance—and especially Italo-Romance—domain, we find numerous vernacular dictionaries, written both for the local inhabitants and for the scientific community. The phonology of Italo-Romance dialects has also been documented in a series of works, most notably linguistic atlases (see §1.4.1). In fact, the phonology of Italo-Romance dialects has been the traditional focus of dialectological studies since the birth of scientific dialectology in the second half of the 19th century. The interest in phonological properties

4 The diatopic variation often reflects the diachronic variation, in the sense that conservative areas can document former stages of other varieties, so that the in-depth comparative study of modern dialects can shed light on the evolution of linguistic structures.

is also linked to attempts to classify the various Italo-Romance dialects. Consequently, the dialectal phonology, including that of Central Trentino, has been studied in a more systematic way than the morphology. Moreover, the focus on the classification of the Italo-Romance dialects also led to the development of a contrastive perspective, in which data from different areas are compared and their diachronic evolution is reconstructed. We have thus been left with a neater picture of the phonology of these dialects, both from an internal (to some extent “structuralist”) point of view, and from a comparative perspective.

Unlike phonology, the morphology of Central Trentino would appear to be in urgent need of systematic description. Although dialectal morphology has been an important topic in traditional dialectological studies, if a particular variety does not have a thorough grammatical description, it is inevitably more difficult to find a complete overview of its morphological system. This is exactly the case for Central Trentino: the only pieces of morphological information available are those found in introductions or appendices to dictionaries. This information, moreover, is often no more than a list of verbal paradigms, without references to, for example, derivational—nominal and verbal—morphology.

Syntactic and pragmatic domains have been rather neglected in traditional dialectological studies (although there are some notable exceptions). As mentioned above, interest in dialectal syntax has increased in the last forty years, in particular among scholars within the formal tradition. Generative studies usually focus on specific dialectal phenomena, since these can shed light on general properties of language. Syntactic phenomena are dealt with in a single dialect or contrastively in two or more dialects. Recently, especially within formal syntax, there has been a particular focus on the study of micro-variation: a phenomenon is studied in various closely related dialects, in order to minimize the effect of independent variables that may influence its exact shape. This fertile line of research usually focuses on either a single phenomenon or a small group of related phenomena.

It should be noted that large collections of dialect data, although without any intent of morphological or syntactic analysis, offer very useful materials. This is the case, for example, of the dialectal dictionary which often present sentences that illustrate the use of single terms.⁵ Five main dictionaries of the

5 The examples shown in the dialectal dictionaries mainly reflect the lexicographers' competence or report what they recorded from local informants. In some cases, however, they also present some words, phrases and sentences found in texts by dialectal authors (usually poets).

20th century include a CT dialect: Ricci (1904), Groff (1955), Aneggi (1984), Fox (1996), and Fox (2014).⁶ In this volume we have chosen to cite only examples from Aneggi (reporting data from the Cembra area) and Groff (reporting data from the urban area near Trento), since both have an online version (in ALTR 2005) that allows to search for specific words, morphemes, and categories. Note, however, that Aneggi and Groff describe two different types of CT dialects: Aneggi deals with a rural variety spoken in the Cembra valley in the second half of the last century; Groff presents the urban variety spoken in the city of Trento and surrounding area in the mid-20th century. Most of the words and structures recorded by Aneggi and Groff are still maintained, although younger people no longer use some of the examples provided by the two dictionaries.⁷

Other examples for illustrating morphological and syntactic phenomena are taken from two linguistic atlases: the AIS (1928–1940), which refers to two localities in CT, which represent respectively a rural and an urban variety, and the ALD-II (2012), with twelve localities in CT: six with a rural variety and six with an urban variety.⁸

Some recent online collections of dialectal data and other databases that can be explored using modern techniques have allowed us to compare much larger amounts of data than previously possible. Since some of these studies are based on systematic investigations conducted in the mid-twentieth century, the data they contain reveals the extent of the grammatical variation that has occurred over a relatively short period. The ASIt (*Atlante sintattico d'Italia*), in particular, collects syntactic dialectal data (adverbs, clitics, interrogatives, exclamatives, negations, objects, quantifiers, relative pronouns, noun phrases, prepositional phrases, subjects and verbs).⁹ The ASIt has recorded data from eight Trentino localities: Aldeno, Amblar, Ronzone, Rovereto, Montesover, Tassullo, Vallarsa, Villa Lagarina. As only Montesover is situated in the CT area, the ASIt examples reported in the following chapters refer to this locality. The examples provided in the ASIt are, in fact, translations of input sentences proposed to informants who then write (or transcribe) a translation in their dialect. Therefore, the replies reported in the database are actually oral data, filtered through writing. Another database with numerous oral recordings, from which

6 Regarding the contribution of linguistic atlases to the studies on the Trentino dialects, see sections §§ 1.4.1–1.4.3.

7 When an obsolete example is reported, this is signalled in a note or in the text.

8 See section § 1.4.3.

9 <http://asit.maldura.unipd.it>. See § 1.4.3.

we have borrowed several CT examples, is VinKo (*Varieties in contact*—*Varietà in contatto*—*Varietäten im Kontakt*).¹⁰

Despite the number of specific studies and data collected in atlases and databases, comprehensive syntactic descriptions of Romance dialects are still rare, and we have no systematic grammar for Central Trentino. For this purpose, this volume follows the rich tradition of the grammatical descriptions within the (Italo)-Romance linguistic field: it is descriptive, and intended for a wide—not necessarily specialist—audience interested in Italian dialects. Unlike most traditional grammars, however, it focuses on morphology and syntax; it also takes recent developments in linguistic theories into account. It is based on general concepts of generative grammar, a descriptive tool with a high degree of precision that allows the neat and detailed capture of the morpho-syntactic properties of Central Trentino.

This book's general approach is synchronic and we focus on today's language. The data that we describe are mainly drawn from oral speech: we present and discuss both spontaneously uttered sentences and others collected during individual interviews in different localities of Central Trentino. However, the grammar also provides some examples of written texts that document older stages of the dialect, and possible diachronic differences. The oldest document is the *Statuti dei Battuti della città di Trento* (14th Century), edited by Schneller (1881).¹¹ Other non-contemporary written examples are reported from a 19th century collection of Italian dialectal versions of the Novella IX—First day of the *Decameron*.¹² Most of the non-contemporary examples that are quoted come from texts of the 20th century: a collection of Trentino mountain songs (Gabrielli 1941), and an anthology of dialectal writings published as an appendix to Groff's (1955) dictionary. The only contemporary written text that we quote is a translation of a chapter of *Don Quijote* into the CT dialect.¹³

Each of our sources follows different transcription rules. On this issue, Coveri and Giannelli (1977: 119) note:

10 <https://www.vinko.it>. See § 1.4.3.

11 In most Northern-Italian areas, Trentino included, the language used in the oldest documents is a *koiné*, which shows “an unstable set of varieties showing clear traces of merging and simplification” (Benincà/Parry/Pescarini 2016: 185).

12 Papanti (1875).

13 Andrea Castelli is the author of the translation, which is part of the project *The Quijote políglota* (<https://casadelatorre.com/quijotemanuscrito/presentacion-jose-manuel-lucia-megias.asp>). The project's academic director is José Manuel Lucía Megías (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2015).

Il problema della resa grafica dei suoni delle lingue storico-naturali è sempre stato uno dei nodi più delicati e controversi nella storia degli studi linguistici. In esso si incrociano almeno tre aspetti: a) l'esigenza, per il linguista, di fornire una descrizione scientificamente corretta ed univoca dei suoni di una lingua (di qui l'adozione di diversi sistemi di trascrizione fonetica, più o meno universali); b) la necessità, per il non specialista, di disporre di un sistema semplificato che contemperi rigore e chiarezza nei casi in cui l'interesse fonetico non sia preminente (trascrizione di testi folklorici, raccolte lessicali, ecc.); c) la presenza, nelle lingue nazionali ma anche nelle varietà dialettali dotate di maggiore prestigio, di una tradizione di scrittura legata principalmente a modelli letterari e di solito inadatta ad assolvere i compiti indicati in a) e in b), oltre che di inciampo, per la maggior parte degli insegnanti, alla giusta impostazione del rapporto tra scritto e parlato nell'educazione linguistica.¹⁴

The aspect b) mentioned here seems the most relevant to our grammar, which focuses on morphological and syntactic phenomena. We have used a simplified transcription system instead of the IPA in order to facilitate non-specialists in their reading of the examples.¹⁵ Most of the rules of the system we have chosen coincide with those proposed in the *Rivista italiana di dialettologia*—RID, which provides a transcription system that corresponds to the so-called “simplified phonetic alphabet” (see Sanga 1977). It allows an easy, yet unambiguous, reading and has been used in several recent dialectological studies

14 “The problem of the transcription of the sounds of historical-natural languages has always been one of the most delicate and controversial issues in the history of linguistic studies. It meets at least three aspects: a) the need, for the linguist, to provide a scientifically correct and univocal description of the sounds of a language (hence the adoption of different systems of phonetic transcription, more or less universal); b) the need, for the non-specialist, to have a simplified system that provides rigor and clarity in cases where the phonetic interest is not pre-eminent (transcription of folklore texts, lexical collections, etc.); c) the presence, in the national languages but also in the most prestigious dialectal varieties, of a written tradition mainly linked to literary models and usually unfit to perform the tasks indicated in a) and b), and which moreover constitutes an obstacle for most teachers, when they try to set up a correct linguistic education based on the relationship between written and spoken language.”

15 However, we do not adopt the simplified transcription for the examples taken from written sources, and report them faithfully. An exception is made for the examples given in the AIS and ALD atlases and in Aneggi (1984). Since these three works adopt three different and rather complex transcription criteria, we transcribe these examples using the simplified alphabet. We do not use the CT transcription system for examples of dialects outside Trentino (e.g. Venetan or Lombard).

on Trentino dialects (ALTR—Archivio lessicale dei dialetti trentini 2005 and DTT—*Dizionario Toponomastico Trentino* 1990).¹⁶

The simplified alphabet adopted for the transcription of CT examples is presented in the annex to the introduction.

The volume contains ten chapters: after a general framing of the dialects spoken in this area and their positions within the northern Italian dialects, we illustrate previous studies on Central Trentino and the neighbouring varieties (Ch. 1); in the following three chapters, the grammar presents the nominal domain, discussing the morphology and syntax of noun phrases (Ch. 2–3), and the pronominal system (Ch. 4). Chapters 5 and 6 are dedicated to prepositional and adverbial phrases; Chapters 7–8 are devoted to the verbal morphology and syntax, respectively. In the last two Chapters we discuss main and subordinated constructions (Ch. 9), and some pragmatic phenomena typical of Central Trentino (Ch. 10).

And finally, we would like to thank all the friends and colleagues who have supported our work and provided data and feedback. In particular, we would like to mention: Ilda Casagrande, Federica Cognola, Giuseppe Cova, Diego Endrici, Rachel Murphy, Elisa Pesamosca, Giambattista Salvadori and Manuela Schlagenauf. Moreover, we would like to thank the editor of the Brill series on Romance Languages, Roberta D'Alessandro, and the whole Brill staff, especially Maarten Frieswijk and Elisa Perotti, for their helpful advice during the whole publication process. Lastly, we are indebted to two anonymous reviewers for their extremely useful comments.

16 See Sanga (1977) and Sanga (1984: 283–287).

Annex to Introduction: Simplified Phonetic Alphabet

TABLE 1 The transcription of stressed Trentino vowels^a

IPA symbol	Simplified alphabet	Trentino examples
a	à	<i>tàola</i> ‘table’
a	a	<i>ala</i> ‘wing’ <i>ma</i> ‘but’
ɛ	è	<i>spèta!</i> ‘wait!’
e	é	<i>véra</i> ‘true’
i	ì	<i>finì</i> ‘finished’
i	i	<i>fìni</i> ‘thin’ (plural) <i>fìn</i> ‘end’
ɔ	ò	<i>pòpo</i> ‘child’
o	ó	<i>sóra</i> ‘over’
u	ù	<i>metù</i> ‘put’
u	u	<i>tuti</i> ‘all’ plural <i>tut</i> ‘all’ singular
œ	ö	<i>föch</i> ‘fire’
ʏ	ü	<i>verdüra</i> ‘vegetables’

a No accent is indicated on stressed vowels *a*, *u*, *i*, when they occur in the penultimate syllable, or in a monosyllabic word, with the exception of the words *chi* (‘here’), *là/li* (‘there’) and *dà* (‘gives’), which are written with accent to distinguish them from the homophonous *chi* (‘who’), *la* (feminine article or clitic pronoun), *li* (object clitic pronoun) and *da* (‘from’).

TABLE 2 The transcription of unstressed Trentino vowels

Non-stressed vowels and approximants	Simplified alphabet	Trentino examples
a	a	<i>asenèl</i> ‘little donkey’
e	e	<i>spifer</i> ‘draft’
i	i	<i>vinèl</i> ‘light wine’
o	o	<i>soldadi</i> ‘soldiers’
u	u	<i>fumèra</i> ‘a quantity of smoke’
j	i	<i>ièna</i> ‘hyena’
w	u	<i>auto</i> ‘car’

TABLE 3 The transcription of Trentino consonants

Consonants	Simplified alphabet	Examples
voiced labial plosive b	b	<i>bèn</i> ‘well’
voiced palatal affricate dʒ	g + e, i gi + a, o, ö, ü	<i>gentìl</i> ‘gentle’ <i>Giani</i>
voiceless velar plosive k	ch + e, i c + a, o, ö, ü -ch q + u (/w/)	<i>chì</i> ‘here’ <i>casa</i> ‘house’ <i>fòch</i> ‘fire’ <i>quél</i> ‘that’
voiced dental plosive d	d	<i>dar</i> ‘to give’
voiceless labio-dental fricative f	f	<i>fin</i> ‘end’
voiceless palatal affricate tʃ	c + e, i ci + a, o, ö, ü -c’	<i>celét</i> ‘little bucket’ <i>ciar</i> ‘clear’ <i>gac</i> ‘cats’
voiced velar plosive g	gh + e, i g + a, o, ö, ü	<i>ghebón</i> ‘smog’ <i>gara</i> ‘competition’
alveolar lateral l	l	<i>léor</i> ‘hare’
labial nasal m	m	<i>mar</i> ‘sea’
alveolar nasal n	n	<i>nas</i> ‘nose’
palatal nasal ɲ	gn	<i>magnàr</i> ‘eat’
voiceless labial plosive p	p	<i>pan</i> ‘bread’
alveolar trill r	r	<i>ram</i> ‘branch’
voiceless alveopalatal fricative s	s (in initial or final position; before or after a consonant) ss (in intervocalic position) s- (before a voiceless palatal affricate)	<i>fòs</i> ‘ditch’ <i>strada</i> ‘street’ <i>versàr</i> ‘pour’ <i>basta</i> ‘enough’ <i>sassi</i> ‘stones’ <i>fis-cio</i> ‘whistle’

TABLE 3 The transcription of Trentino consonants (*cont.*)

Consonants	Simplified alphabet	Examples
voiceless palatal fricative ʃ	sci	<i>liscio</i> ‘smooth’
voiced alveolopalatal fricative z	s (in intervocalic position) ṣ (before a voiced consonant)	<i>casa</i> ‘house’ <i>ṣdentà</i> ‘toothless’ <i>desgrazià</i> ‘miserable’
voiceless dental plosive t	t	<i>tòr</i> ‘to take’
voiced labio-dental fricative v	v	<i>vin</i> ‘wine’
voiceless dental fricative θ	z (in initial or final position; after a consonant) zz (in intervocalic position)	<i>zéna</i> ‘dinner’ <i>mèz</i> ‘half’ <i>vinzer</i> ‘win’ <i>pózza</i> ‘pool’
voiced dental fricative ð	z (in intervocalic position) ẓ (in initial position or after a voiced consonant)	<i>mèza</i> ‘half’ <i>ẓènt</i> ‘people’ <i>vèrzer</i> ‘open’

Overview

Northern Italy, despite the rich dialectal variation found in its regions, can be considered a coherent linguistic sub-area of Romance.¹ It therefore seems appropriate to begin with a presentation of the Trentino varieties within the broader context of Northern Italian dialects (§1.1).

The second section, §1.2, focuses on the main dialectal groups of the province. We identify seven Romance dialectal groups: the first consists of the Western dialects, which share many features with the Lombard dialects; the second (Eastern) and the third (Southern) group are close to the Venetan dialects; the fourth and the fifth group (Central Trentino and Fiemme dialects, respectively) show mixed Lombard and Venetan features; finally, the sixth group (the North-western dialects spoken in the Non and the Sole valleys) contain a greater number of Alpine conservative features; the seventh group is formed by the Ladin varieties spoken in the North-eastern Fassa valley (Fassan). Fassan is recognized as a minority language.

Two Germanic varieties—Cimbrian and Mòcheno—are also spoken in the province, and are briefly described in §1.3. They present many conservative features, but also some innovative phenomena, due to the contact with the neighbouring Romance dialects. Contact is not, however, the only factor responsible for these shifts in the two minority languages: the changes—although undoubtedly accelerated by language contact—appear to be internally motivated.

In the last section we present an overview of the studies that in the past years have been conducted on Trentino—in particular, on Central Trentino (CT)—dialects. We have divided the main works into three groups, corresponding to different levels of analysis (phonology, lexicon, morphology and syntax). We have added to these three groups a fourth one, in which we introduce a number of linguistic inquiries conducted on different topics, mainly from a diachronic perspective.

1 However, along the whole alpine range several non-Romance minority languages are spoken as well.

1.1 Trentino Dialects in the Context of Northern Italian Dialects

Trentino dialects belong to a wide, dynamic linguistic area in Northern Italy (see Map 1), which has been unitary since the pre-Latin age.² During the XIV and XV centuries, the—widely circulated—written language of the area was a kind of *koiné*, characterized by a mixture of lexical and morphological features taken from different dialects, and literary and regional French.³

The dialects of this area share many grammatical and lexical features.⁴

At the phonological level, they all present the following:

- final unstressed vowels, except [a], tend to be dropped;⁵
- unstressed vowels are weakened, and tend to be neutralized or to disappear;
- long consonants are phonetically shortened;
- intervocalic voiceless obstruent consonants are voiced, and may even disappear in some dialects.

Over the centuries, [ka/ga] were palatalized in most Northern Italian dialects.⁶

At the morphological and syntactic levels, the following three phenomena are common to all northern Italian dialects:

- the tendency to develop analytic forms. Some examples of the latter—used in CT instead of the original Latin synthetic forms—are provided in § 2.5 for nominal compounds, in § 2.6.3 for superlatives, in § 7.1 for verbal tenses, in § 7.5 for the “verb + locative” construction;
- the use of more than one type of negative marker; negative markers can take a variety of positions in CT sentences (see § 7.4);
- the obligation to use subject pronouns, which varies depending on person and context (see §§ 4.2 and 4.4).

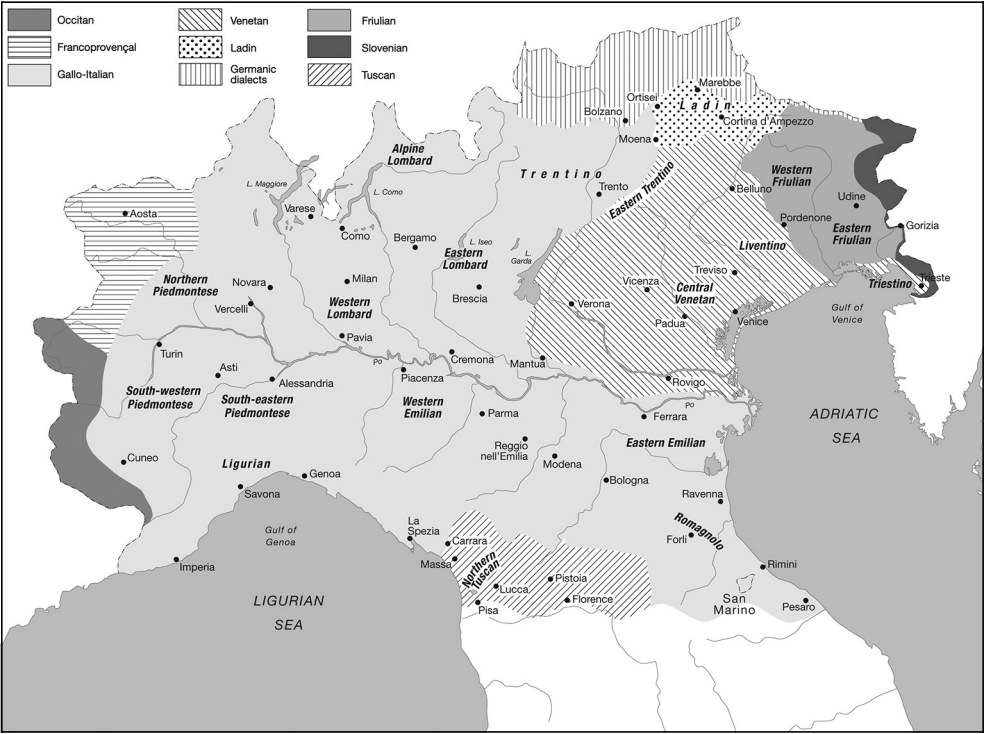
2 Although only Piedmontese, Lombard and Emilian-Romagnol are considered areas of Celtic population, in a broader perspective all northern Italy was celticized, in particular in the rural areas; see Benincà, Parry & Pescarini (2016, 185).

3 Renzi (1970).

4 Benincà, Parry & Pescarini (2016) use the expression ‘northern Romance’ to refer to dialects spoken in an innovative sub-area of Romance. These include French, the dialects of northern Italy, Friulian, Ladin, and Romansh.

5 The rule applies to different contexts, depending on the dialect.

6 Although this kind of palatalisation has completely disappeared in the vast majority of the dialects, it is still productive in some marginal areas where Ladin is spoken, and in the Non valley. Many of the traces of the phenomenon attested in the area are discussed in Pellegrini (1991); Vigolo (1986); Tuttle (1997).



MAP 1 Northern Italian varieties
BENINCÀ, PARRY & PESCARINI (2016) REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF
THE LICENSOR THROUGH PLSCLEAR

1.2 The Main Romance Dialect Groups Spoken in Trentino

Different linguistic currents intersect and overlap in Trentino,⁷ with the influence of Lombard and Venetan varieties prevailing. Lombard features occur mainly in western Trentino dialects, Venetan features in eastern and southern Trentino dialects. From the North, a linguistic alpine archaic influence is attested in Ladin and in the dialects spoken in the Non valley and in the low part of Val di Sole.⁸ Based on their linguistic—mainly phonological and morphological, rarely syntactic—properties, we have, as outlined above, identified seven groups of Romance dialects (see Map 2).⁹

7 Battisti (1910: 192–193); Pellegrini (1977: 27); Zamboni (1988: 521).
8 Bonfadini (2001: 5).
9 The main dialectal groups of Trentino have been variously defined. Tomasini (1960: 82–104) distinguishes six areas, excluding the Ladin area of Fassa: a) the western area, with many

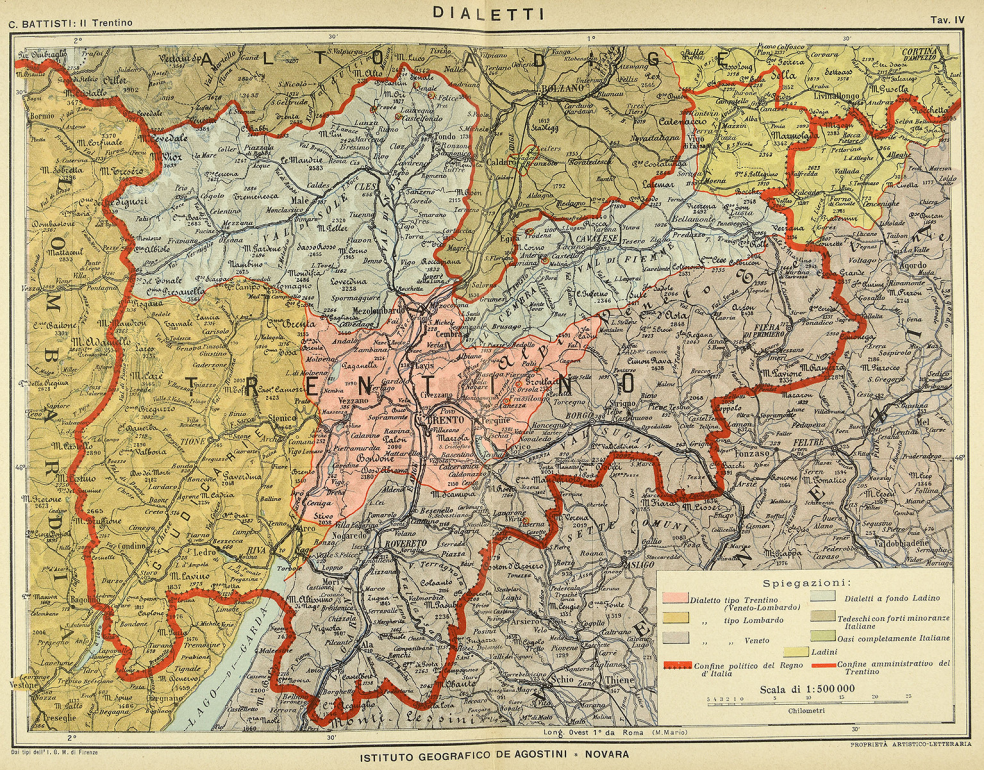


MAP 2 The seven main groups of Romance dialects spoken in Trentino

1. Central dialects. These contain both Lombard and Venetan features. As illustrated in section § 2.1, these dialects are spoken in Trento and the surrounding area (north as far as the border with South Tyrol); in the south up to the locality of Murazzi (on the left bank of the Adige river) and up to the village of Aldeno (to the right of the river); in the west as far as Cavedinese, Vezzano, Terlago; in the east as far as Cembra, Piné, Pergine, Levico and Caldonazzo (see Map 3).

Tomasini (1960), Bonfadini (1983, 2001), and Mastrelli Anzilotti (1992) describe the phonetic features that distinguish CT dialects from the others of the province, and recognize two varieties within CT. The first is urban, more innovative and open to Venetan influences, and spoken in the city of Trento and in the villages of Civezzano, Vigolo Vattaro, Pergine, Levico and Vezzano.

common features with the Brescia (Lombard) dialect; b) the central Trentino area; c) the eastern area, close to Venetan; d) the area of Val di Non; e) the area of Val di Sole; f) the area of Fiemme. Bonfadini (1983: 43–44) proposes a division into three main areas: a) Lombard (with Giudicarie inferiori, Rendena, Ledro); b) median (Sarche, Val d'Adige including Trento and Rovereto, Piné and Cembra); c) Venetan (Valsugana and Primiero). The author does not consider Val di Sole, Val di Non, Fiemme and Fassa, where dialects present marked Ladin features. Finally, according to Bauer (2012) eight different areas should be considered: a) Val di Non, b) Val di Sole, c) Val Rendena and Giudicarie, d) Trento and the border area between Trento and Bozen/Bolzano, Val di Cembra, Vallagarina, e) Val di Fiemme, f) Primiero, g) Valsugana, h) Fassa.



MAP 3 CT dialects

Note: Note that the CT area in this map does not completely overlap with our definition: Battisti excludes most part of the Cembra valley, as well as Levico and Caldonazzo in the East.

BATTISTI (1910)

This area is also more exposed to Italian, the influence of which is widespread.¹⁰ A rural variety, which preserves more old Lombard features, is spoken in Roveré della Luna, on the Rotaliana plane, on the plateau around Piné, and in the Cembra valley.

2. **Western dialects** are spoken in Valbona, valle di Ledro, Rendena, the Tione basin (Bonfadini 1992). They present numerous Lombard features,¹¹ such as the rounded vowels [œ] and [y] (*föch* ‘fire’, *lïuna* ‘moon’, *brïüt* ‘ugly’);¹² the general drop of final vowels, except [a] (*gal* ‘cock’, *gat* ‘cat’, *nòt* ‘night’); the substitution

¹⁰ Bonfadini (2001).

¹¹ More precisely, old Lombard features. See Battisti (1936: 68) and Bonfadini (1992: 47).

¹² Nowadays, young speakers use them less and less frequently.

of the proto-Romance [e] with [ɛ] in closed syllables (*frèt* ‘cold’, *sèch* ‘dry’, *lègn* ‘wood’); the palatalization of [a] in the result of the Latin suffix -ARIUS/-ARIA (*zènèr* ‘january’, *ferèr* ‘smith’, *gèra* ‘gravel’); the palatalization in the plural of words ending in the singular with consonants [t] and [n] (*gat/gac* ‘cat/cats’, *an/agn* ‘year/years’); the 1st plural suffix -óm at indicative present tense (*por-tóm* ‘we carry’). A peculiar feature—attested in Rendena—is the velarization of the lateral [l] before a consonant and its shift to the fricative [f] (*CALIDUM* > *caft* ‘hot’).

A detailed comparison between Western dialects and CT dialects is shown in Table 4. The columns in Table 4 refer to different dialects spoken in the provinces of Trento. Eight of them are Western Trentino dialects—A.R. (Alta Rendena ‘High Rendena’) and B.R. (Bassa Rendena ‘Low Rendena’), Tione, Valbona, Ledro, Bleggio, Banale, and the low valley of Sarca. The last column presents Central Trentino data.

In the first column of the table sixteen phonological and morphological features are listed, which allow a comparison among the mentioned dialects concerning the following phenomena: 1) the result of Latin short *ǒ* in open syllables; 2) the result of Latin long *ū*; 3) the result of proto-Romance closed [e] in open syllables; 4) the result of proto-Romance closed [e] in closed syllables; 5) the result of proto-Romance closed [o] in open syllables; 6) the presence or absence of final [a]; 7) the result of verbal suffixes -ARE/-IRE; 8) the presence or absence of final [n]; 9) the result of [m], [n] + consonant; 10) the plural form of nouns ending in [t]; 11) the plural form of nouns ending in [n]; 12) the result of the suffix -ARIU; 13) the result of nexuses *ce*, *ci*, *cj*; 14) the result of the nexus *tj*; 15) the form of the 1st singular person ending at the present indicative; 16) the form of the 1st plural person ending at the present indicative (I conjugation).

In particular, the comparison between the Ledro dialect (fifth column) and the CT varieties (last column) shows that very few features correspond in the two dialects. The data reported in the table confirm the clear linguistic distinction between Western and Central Trentino dialects.

3. Eastern dialects. These present typical Venetan features, in common with the rural dialect spoken in the area around Vicenza and around Feltre. They are mainly distinguished by: a) conservation of final vowels (except when they follow a nasal or liquid consonant); b) absence of rounded vowels [œ] and [y]; c) diphthong [je] from Latin *ĕ*; d) interdental consonants as results of *ce/ci* or *ge/gi* (in Primiero the result [d] is attested); e) weakening of the consonant [l] in intervocalic position (*faméia/faméa* ‘family’; in the lower valley, also *famégia*); f) drop of the penultimate vowel [e] in the infinitives ending in -ere

TABLE 4 Comparison between Western Trentino features and Central Trentino features; simplified reproduction of the figure reported in Bonfadini (1992: 59)

	Higher Rendena	Lower Rendena	Tione	Valbona	Ledro	Bleggio	Banale	Lower Sarca valley	CT
ö open syll.	ö	ö	ö/ó	ö	ö	ó	ó	ó	ö/ò
ü	ü	ü	ü/u	ü/u	ü/u	u	u	u	ü/u
é proto-Rom. open syll.	é/i	é/i	é	è/i	ei/é	é	é	é	é
é proto-Rom.closed syll.	ò	ò	é	è	è	é	é	é	é
ó proto-Rom. open syll.	u	ó	ó	ó/u	ou/ó	ó	ó	ó	ó
final -a	-a	-a	-a	-a/-á	-a/-á	a	-a	-a	-a
-are, -ire	-ár/-ér	-ár/-ìr	-ár/-ìr	-ár/-ìr	-ár/-ìr	-ár/-ìr	-ár/-ìr	-ár/-ìr	-ár/-ìr
final -n	-ñ	-ñ	Ø/Ũ	Ø/Ũ	-ñ	-ñ	-ñ	-m/-ñ	-ñ
m, n + cons.	m, n	m, n	m, n	Ø	Ø/Ũ	m, n	m, n	m, n	m, n
pl. of nouns in -t	-c'	-c'	-c'	-c'	-c'	-t	-t	-t(i)	-t
pl. of nouns in -n	-ñ	-ñ	-ñ	-ñ	-ñ	-n	-n	-n(i)	-n(i)
-ariu	-èr	-èr	-èr	-èr	-èr	-èr	-èr	-èr/-ár	-èr/-ár
ce, ci, cj	c'	c'	c'/z	c'/s	c'/s	z	z	z/s	c'/z
tj	z	z	z	s	z/s	z	z	z/s	z
1st s. pres. ind.	-u/Ø	-o/Ø	-o	-e/-o/Ø	-o	-o	-o/Ø	-o	-o
1st pl. pres. ind.	-ùm	-óm	-óm	-óm	-óm	-ém	-ém	-é(ó)	-àm/-àn

(*mètre* ‘to put’, *bévre* ‘to drink’); g) past participle *-èsto* and, for some verbs, *-isto* (see § 8.3); h) finally, in Primiero, direct wh-interrogatives can show wh- *in situ* (*votu che, po?* ‘what do you want?’).¹³

4. Southern dialects. These share many properties with the Verona dialect. Phonologically, they differ from CT dialects in that they avoid typical rural features: vowels [œ] and [y] never occur; *ce/ci*, *ge/gi* present assibilation (*zima* ‘top’, *zènt* ‘people’); these dialects change the vowel [ɔ] into [o] (*óf* ‘egg’, *nóf* ‘new’, *bón* ‘good’), drop the *in situ* dental consonant (*soldài* ‘soldiers’), and change [n] in final position into [m] (*bòm*, ‘good’, *vim* ‘wine’).¹⁴

5. Fiemme dialects. Most of the features that distinguish the dialects of the Fiemme valley from CT are related to the realization of consonants: initial and final [s] is dental rather than palatal; intervocalic *ce/ci*, *ge/gi* change into palatal fricatives; initial *ce/ci*, *ge/gi* are maintained (except in Cavalese, where they

¹³ Tomasini (1960: 95).
¹⁴ Tomasini (1960: 88–90); Pellegrini (1992).

are pronounced *ze/zi*, as in Trento); the sequence consonant + [l] results in the voiced palatal affricate (*sègia* < SECLA ‘bucket’); intervocalic [lj] results in the voiced palatal affricate (*pagia* < PALEA ‘straw’). At the morphological level, the dialect presents *-àe* as the result of the suffix *-ARIUS* (*polinàe* < PULLARIUS ‘hen-house’), the suffix *-s* in the 2nd singular person (*vas* ‘you go’, *magnes* ‘you eat’), and the palatalization of plural nouns ending in *-t* and *-n* (*cant/canc* ‘song/songs’).¹⁵

6. Val di Non and val di Sole dialects.¹⁶ These dialects are spoken in the area between Mezzolombardo and the Tonale pass. They present several varieties, but all share the following phonological features: palatalization of [k] and [g] before the vowel [a]; change of [l] to [u], after the vowel [a] and before a consonant; the sequence ‘consonant + [l]’ is conserved. Their common morphological features are: endings in *-s* in the 2nd person singular; endings in *-i* in the first person singular (indicative present and imperfect). The dialect spoken in the peripheral villages of Val di Sole (closest to Lombardy) contains many archaic Lombard features: it does not present the palatalization of [k] and [g] before the vowel [a]; the sequence *cl* changes to a sound palatal affricate (*OCULUM* > *ògio* ‘eye’); rounded vowels [œ] and [y] occur; the masculine ending *-o* does not drop after a consonant sequence (*négro* ‘black’, *védro* ‘glass’).¹⁷

7. Ladin. The language spoken in Fassa (Fassan)—officially recognised as a minority language¹⁸—is a conservative Romance variety.¹⁹ Along with four other varieties (Gardenese and Badiot in South Tyrol, Fodom and Ampezan in Veneto), the Fassa variety makes up the Dolomitic Ladin group, spoken in the Dolomites around the Sella massif. The Fassan variety is the only one spoken

¹⁵ Tomasini (1960); Boninsegna (1992).

¹⁶ Ascoli (1873) considers the two valleys to be transitional areas between Italian and the Rhaeto-Romance group.

¹⁷ Tomasini (1960); Quaresima (1984).

¹⁸ Statuto d'autonomia del Trentino—Alto Adige 1972, art. 102 and national law 482, 15 December 1999. All of Trentino's provincial laws designed to protect and support local minority language groups can be found at: <http://www.minoranzelinguistiche.provincia.tn.it/normativa/>.

¹⁹ According to Pellegrini 1991 the Ladin language of Sella shows many archaic features that are typical of an older stage of other Italo-Romance varieties. For sake of simplicity, we list Fassan Ladin among the Romance dialects spoken in Trentino, although we are aware of its particular status in the province.

in the Province of Trento. The Northern varieties (Gardenese and Badiot) are more conservative; the Southern ones (Fassan, Fodom and Ampezan) share numerous innovations with the neighbouring Italian dialects, and often pattern with Trentino dialects.

Fassan is divided into three varieties: *Cazét* in the upper valley, *Brach* in the middle of the valley and *Moenat* in the lowest village of Moena (see Casalicchio 2020 for the differences between them). There is also a Standard Fassan variety, based on *Cazét* and used in official documents, the media and schools.²⁰

The main linguistic features that distinguish Fassan from the other Romance dialects spoken in the province are:²¹ a) lengthening of the Latin tonic vowels in the open syllable of paroxytones (*pèla* < PALA 'shovel';²² *séidesc* < SEDECIM 'sixteen'; *golóusa* < GOLOSA 'greedy'); b) change of final -a to [ã] or [ò]: SANCTA > *sèntã*; c) palatalization of [k] and [g] before [a] (*ciavàl* 'horse', *gial* 'cock'); d) final -s preserved as a plural marker on a subset of masculine nouns and as 2nd singular person ending for verbs;²³ e) plural -es for feminine nouns and adjectives ending in -a (*cópa/cópes* 'goblet/goblets'); f) first and second person free subject pronouns deriving from nominative (*Cazét gé* 'I', *tu* 'you' vs. CT *mi*, *ti*); g) distinction between a direct object (*me/te*) and the object of the preposition *a* (*mi/ti*) for free 1st and 2nd singular person pronouns; h) lack of locative pronouns (*l'era tanta jènt* 'there were many people'); i) plural agreement restricted to the last constituent(s) of a feminine DP (*la bèla fémenes* 'the nice women'—in *Cazét* only); l) existence of direct wh-questions introduced by the complementiser *che* (*Olà che t'ès metù la tascia?* 'Where have you put the bag?'²⁴); m) conservative features in the lexicon (e.g. *dèsch/désch* 'table', *dombrèr* < NUMERARE 'count').

20 <http://www.istladin.net/it/strumenti-ladino>.

21 Elwert (1943); Plangg (1989); Haiman & Benincà (1992); Salvi (1997 and 2001); Casalicchio (2020).

22 The vowel [a] becomes [ɛ] in *Cazét*, but not in *Brach* or *Moenat* (cf. *Cazét pèla* vs. *Brach palã* < PALA(M)).

23 In *Brach* and *Moenat*, the final -s is only kept as a plural marker in a subset of masculine nouns and in monosyllabic verb forms (Elwert 1943, Bauer & Casalicchio 2017, Casalicchio 2020).

24 ALD-II, 1027 ff.

1.3 Germanic Languages Spoken in Trentino

Two Germanic languages—Mòcheno and Cimbrian—are spoken in Trentino, in two minority communities.

Mòcheno²⁵ is a Southern Bavarian variety which has been spoken in three villages in the Mòcheni Valley (*Fersental* in German; *Valle del Fersina* in Italian) since the Middle Ages (c. 11th–12th Century), when Southern Bavarian groups migrated to the area to work in the mines or cultivate the land.²⁶

Mòcheno is traditionally described as an OV language with possible VO structures; recently, it has been claimed that Mòcheno has a “disharmonic word order” since OV and VO constructions are chosen when particular information structure configurations obtain. Moreover, unlike Standard German, Mòcheno is considered to be a partial pro-drop language.²⁷

The other Germanic minority language in the province of Trento, Cimbrian, is spoken in Luserna/Lusérn.²⁸ The only other Cimbrian communities, each with a mere handful of surviving speakers, are in the province of Vicenza (in the area of the Sette Comuni; lit. “Seven Municipalities”, close to Asiago/Slege), and Verona (Tredici Comuni, lit. “Thirteen Municipalities”). Migrants from Southern Germany first settled in these areas in the 11th Century.²⁹ Today, of the three attested varieties, only that of Luserna/Lusérn (Trento) is still used in the community.³⁰

Cimbrian, like Mòcheno, also belongs to the group of Southern Bavarian/Austrian dialects. Isolated since the 11th Century from the varieties from which it derives, the language has maintained many features of the original medieval dialects.³¹ It inverts subject pronoun and verb in both interrogative contexts

25 This language has three different denominations: *Mòcheno*, which is used by Italians and Mòcheni when speaking Italian, *Fersentalerisch*, which is used in the German literature, *de inger sprochen* ‘our language’, which is used by Mòcheni when they speak their language. On the origin of the ethnonym *Mòcheno*, see Casalicchio & Cognola (2017).

26 See Schweizer (2012) [1954]; Rowley (1986); Bidese & Cognola (2013).

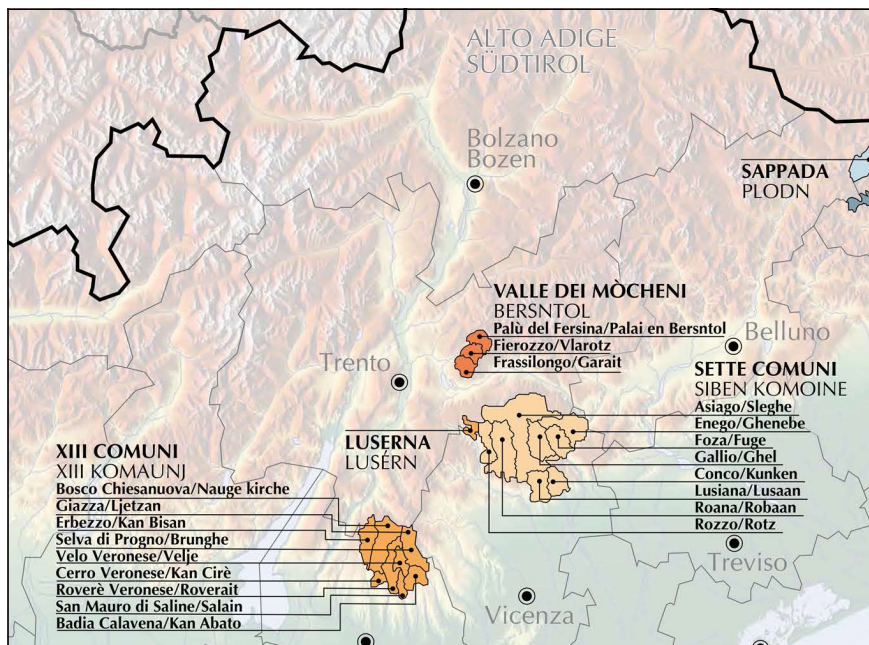
27 Cognola (2012).

28 The ethnonym *Cimbrian* is not to be confused either with the name *Cimbri* referred to the Germanic tribe that inhabited Denmark in the 2nd Century or with the name *Cimbri*, referred to the people defeated by the Roman Consul Gaius Marius at the Raudine Plain, near Vercelli in 101 BC. Nowadays the term *Cimbrian* is commonly used to refer to both the people and the language of this Northern Italian area. However, the people of Luserna prefer to use the phrase *az be biar* ‘the way we speak’ to denote their language.

29 Cf. Bidese (2004).

30 Bacher (1905).

31 Cf. Kranzmayer [1923] (1981–1985); Schweizer (2008) [1951/1952]; Schweizer (2012) [1954]; Panieri et alii (2006); Bidese (2010).



MAP 4 Germanic minorities in Trentino and Veneto
 CELE - COMITATO UNITARIO DELLE ISOLE LINGUISTICHE STORICHE
 GERMANICHE IN ITALIA (© CELE - SMALLCODES 2012; [HTTPS://WWW.ISOELINGUISTICHE.IT/IT/CARTINA.HTML?FILE=FILES/SPRACHINSELN/PDF-DOKUMENTE/SPRACHINSELKARTEIT.PDF](https://www.isoelinguistiche.it/it/cartina.html?file=files/sprachinseln/pdf-dokumente/sprachinselkarteit.pdf))

and declarative contexts, when at least one constituent other than the subject occurs before the verb. Both matrix and embedded clauses display SVO order, although the verb position differs (SXVO vs SVXO respectively).³²

The Cimbrian system of complementisers is an example of how the effect of linguistic contact with Romance dialects on these Germanic languages cannot be attributed simply to a process of copying.³³ Cimbrian has a double system of complementisers: in declarative sentences either *az* or *ke* can appear, selected by either desiderative verbs or verbs of saying and thinking. Each complementiser requires the subordinate to show a different structure; in particular, *ke* introduces a novel pattern in embedded clauses. It is tempting to assume that *ke*—in not triggering a word order typical of embedded contexts in Germanic languages—is behaving like its Romance counterpart *che*. However, contact

³² Cf. Grewendorf & Poletto (2011).

³³ Kolmer (2010); Alber, Rabanus & Tomaselli (2012); Casalicchio & Padovan (2018).

with Romance languages cannot be the only factor responsible for the observed change, which appears to be internally motivated, albeit accelerated by language contact.³⁴

1.4 Previous Studies

In this section we present an overview of the studies that have been conducted on Trentino³⁵—and, in particular, on Central Trentino (CT)—dialects from different perspectives.

§1.4.1 deals with phonological studies, an important part of the research conducted on Trentino dialects. An aspect of particular interest that emerges from the selected works is the distinction attested in the area between Lombard and Venetan features; the Trentino dialects with Lombard features show front rounded vowels *ü* and *ö*, the absence of final unstressed vowels—except *-a*—in singular nouns, the absence of diphthongs derived from the Latin *ē*, *ō* in open syllables; the Trentino dialects with Venetan features are characterised by the presence in most contexts of final unstressed vowels other than *-a*, and the absence of the vowels *ü*, *ö*. A characteristic that today is typical for Ladin is attested by old CT documents and place names that show the sequence ‘consonant + l’, and still survives in a few localities, where the absence of assibilation for *ce*, *ci*, *ge*, *gi* is also found. Three linguistic atlases—the AIS (1928–1940), the ALI (1995–2008), and the ALD-I (1998)—contain a large body of data that demonstrates the typical phonological features of the CT area, and the *Dizionario Toponomastico Trentino* provides many phonological examples, particularly relevant for diachronic comparisons.

§1.4.2. presents another rich selection of studies regarding lexical and lexicographic works on CT. Several dictionaries have been written for this area: the oldest, Azzolini (1856), refers to the areas of Rovereto and Trento; Ricci (1904) and Groff (1955) both refer to Trento and its immediate surroundings; Aneggi (1984) refers to the Cembra valley dialect; Fox (1996) to the lexicon of Piné and Fox (2014) to the Trento area. The section also mentions some specialized dictionaries of Trentino proverbs, jargon and German loan words. Along with these dictionaries, the linguistic atlases—mentioned in §1—represent important sources for the study of the dialectal lexicon, providing copious data, often organized in semantic domains, which show the patterns of linguistic variation in the area.

34 See Bidese et al. (2014), and Bidese (2017).

35 In this section we do not consider the studies on the Ladin language.

§1.4.3. focuses on works on Central Trentino morphology and syntax. Other than a dialectal grammar of the Cembra dialect (Zörner 1989), only partial grammatical descriptions of single varieties are available. Most of these descriptions are squeezed into the introductions to dictionaries. However, since the 1980s a new line of research on dialects has started to investigate some dialectal morpho-syntactic and syntactic phenomena. The section mentions several studies of Trentino pronouns and clitics, auxiliaries and participles, phrasal verbs, and particles with a pragmatic function. The ASIt (Atlante sintattico d'Italia) collects various data on all of the above, and on other morpho-syntactic phenomena, from eight localities where Trentino Romance dialects are spoken; one of these localities (Sover) is included in CT dialects.

§1.4.4. presents a number of linguistic studies that do not focus on grammatical aspects. We examine certain diachronic features, concentrating on the study of place names and of old dialectal documents. Trentino toponymy, in particular, is a very productive field of investigation, as the existence of the *Dizionario toponomastico trentino*, which provides an extensive, systematic repertory of Trentino place names, confirms. This dictionary is also available online.

1.4.1 Phonology

Many studies, whether of Trentino dialects in general, or of the dialect of a single valley, have focused on phonetics and phonology.³⁶ The features that have been recognized as common to the Trentino area are summarized in Table 5.

Some scholars—Tomasini (1960), Bonfadini (1983), Mastrelli Anzilotti (1992), among others—have highlighted the main phonetic features that distinguish CT dialects from the others of the province.³⁷ The three authors distinguish two types of CT: an urban variety, spoken in the city of Trento and in some neighbouring little towns, and a rural variety (see §1.2). The distinctive phonetic features of the two varieties are given in Table 6.

The features of rural CT are more conservative and similar to those present in Lombard dialects, whereas the features of urban CT are more innovative and follow a Venetan model.

36 Gartner (1882); Ettmayer (1902); Battisti (1910 and 1936); Tomasini (1955, 1960 and 1990); Politzer (1967); Mastrelli Anzilotti (1992); Bonfadini (1979, 1989, 1993 and 2001); Bauer (2012).

37 All these studies are based on Battisti (1910).

TABLE 5 Phonetic features common to Trentino dialects

Phonetic features common to Trentino dialects

no geminate consonants

FACTA (Lat.), *fatta* (It.), *fata* (CT) ‘done (F.S.G.)’

voicing of intervocalic plosive consonants

PRATA (Lat.), *prati* (It.), *pradi* (CT) ‘meadows’

de-affrication of affricate alveo-palatals

CAEPAM (Lat.), *cipolla* (It.), *sìgola* (CT) ‘onion’

JUVENEM (Lat.), *giovane* (It.), *zóven* (CT) ‘young’ (M.)

absence of the diphthongs *je < ě*, *wɔ < ō* in stressed open syllables

PĚDEM (Lat.), *piede* (It.), *pè* (CT) ‘foot’;

FŮCUM (Lat.), *fuoco* (It.), *fòch* (CT) ‘fire’

absence of lateral palatal consonants

FĀMLĪĀ (Lat.), *famiglia* (It.), *famìlia* (CT) ‘family’

in singular nouns and adjectives no final unstressed vowel other than *-a*
(except for the Eastern and Southern area that present Venetan features)

FŮCUM (Lat.), *fuoco* (It.), *fòch* (CT) ‘fire’

OSSUM (Lat.), *osso* (It.), *òs* (CT) ‘bone’

DULCIS (Lat.), *dolce* (It.), *dólz* (CT) ‘sweet’

 Bonfadini (1983) and Mastrelli Anzilotti (1992) recognize three different dialectal layers in (both varieties of) CT: the Lombard (probably the oldest, having entered from the South-west), the Venetan (which entered from the South and the East) and the Ladin (due to contact with the Northern part of the province).³⁸ Both authors indicate the features listed in Table 7 to be Lombard.³⁹

38 The presence of Lombard and Venetan features in the Trentino varieties is also noted by Battisti (1936), Pellegrini (1975) and Zamboni (1988).

39 Some other Lombard features are attested in Cavedinese, the westmost part of the CT area, where one also finds:

TABLE 6 Phonological differences between urban and rural CT

Urban CT	Rural CT
voiceless palatal affricates <i>ce, ci</i> become dental <i>zéna</i> ‘dinner’, <i>zima</i> ‘top’	<i>ce, ci</i> maintain the palatal consonant <i>céna</i> ‘dinner’, <i>cima</i> ‘top’
voiced palatal affricates <i>ge, gi</i> become dental <i>zènt</i> ‘people’, <i>zó</i> ‘down’	<i>ge, gi</i> maintain the palatal consonant ^a <i>gènt</i> ‘people’, <i>gió</i> ‘down’
no vowel <i>ü</i> is attested (only some cases of intermediate vowel <i>ũ</i>) <i>luna, lûna</i> ‘moon’	the vowel <i>ü</i> is attested <i>liina</i> ‘moon’
no vowel <i>ö</i> is attested (only some cases of intermediate vowel <i>ò</i>) ^b <i>ancòi, ancôî</i> ‘today’	the vowel <i>ö</i> is attested ^c <i>ancöî</i> ‘today’

- a Recent inquiries show that the dental consonant (both voiced and voiceless) of the urban model is more and more frequent in the rural area; see Bonfadini (2001: 14), commenting the data collected in ALD-I.
- b von Slop (1898) and Ricci (1904) report that until the end of the XIX century both the vowels *ü* and *ö* were used in Trento, whereas in Papanti (1875) only the presence of the vowel *ü* is attested.
- c The urban model's influence on the pronunciation of these vowels is strong. Bonfadini (2001: 15–16), commenting the data of ALD-I, notes that the use of *ü* is unstable in Cembra and in Vallagarina, and the use of *ö* is unstable in Cembra and Roveré della Luna.

The resemblance with Venetan is revealed in some localities by the presence of final unstressed vowels other than *-a* (*fine* ‘end’, *òsso* ‘bone’) and in urban varieties by the absence of the vowels *ü, ö*. Another Venetan phonetic feature is found in Cembra, where the consonant *d* between vowels is not maintained (*magnai* ‘eaten.M.PL’, *soldai* ‘soldiers’, *bagnai* ‘wet.M.PL’).⁴⁰

– the vowel *e* is inserted in a consonant cluster, where the second consonant is *r*, followed by no final vowel (*alègher* ‘merry’ vs. *alégro*);

– the vowel *o* becomes *u* before a nasal consonant in a pre-stress syllable (*puntèra* ‘climb’);

– as in CT, the consonant *d* (from Latin *t*) is maintained between two vowels (*pradi* ‘meadows’, *magnadi* ‘eaten pl.m.’, *soldadi* ‘soldiers’, *bagnadi* ‘wet pl. m.’). See Mastrelli Anzilotti (1992: 15).

40 Mastrelli Anzilotti (1992: 17).

TABLE 7 Lombard phonetic features in CT

Lombard phonetic features in CT

front rounded vowels *ü* and *ö*^a
lüna ‘moon’, *ancöi* ‘today’

no final unstressed vowel in singular nouns, except *-a*
föch ‘fire’, *ös* ‘bone’, *dólz* ‘sweet’

no diphthong derived from the Latin *ě, ō* in open syllables
pè ‘foot’, *föch* ‘fire’

a These vowels were common in the whole area, but now they are attested only in some rural villages (*stüa* ‘stufa’, *röda* ‘wheel’). Only local toponyms show rounded front vowels systematically (*Bagnœl*, *Laghisœl*, *Fibiœle* in Cavedinese).

The presence of Ladin features is attested in only a few localities of CT; Mastrelli Anzilotti (1992: 16) recognizes the following two features as Ladin:

- the absence of assibilation for *ce*, *ci*, *ge*, *gi* (*céna* ‘dinner’, *gént* ‘people’). However, in non-rural varieties and even in some rural areas (Pinetano) assibilation appears, mainly for *ce*, *ci* (*zéna* ‘dinner’, *zínque* ‘five’, *zènto* ‘hundred’);
- the sequence ‘consonant + l’. However, this sequence is rarely maintained: Mastrelli Anzilotti (1992) finds it only in Cavedine (*flór* ‘flower’) and in Cembra (*sanglòt* ‘sigh’), although some documents and several place names (for instance, *Bleggio*, *Plaze*) attest its old use.

The phonological description of the Trentino area is also covered by three linguistic atlases, the AIS (1928–1940),⁴¹ the ALI (1995–2008),⁴² and the ALD-I (1998),⁴³ all of which belong to the classic tradition of linguistic geography in

41 Karl Jaberg and Jacob Jud directed the AIS research, which involved linguistic inquiries conducted by P. Scheuermeier, G. Rohlfs and M.L. Wagner in 405 Italian and Swiss localities (Canton Ticino and Grigioni). The printed version of the atlas consists of 8 volumes. The AIS is also available online at: <http://www3.pd.istc.cnr.it/navigais-web/>.

42 The inquiries on 7.000 items in 1.065 localities started at the beginning of the 20th century. Various scientific directors have been involved: Matteo Bartoli, Giuseppe Vidossi, Benvenuto A. Terracini, Giuliano Bonfante, Corrado Grassi, Arturo Genre and Lorenzo Massobrio. To date, only a part of the whole work has been published, in eight volumes. A general presentation of the work is available online: <http://www.atlantelinguistico.it>.

43 Hans Goebel is the scientific director of the ALD (I and II). The project was developed in

which—Andalo, Caldonazzo, Faver, Trento and Mattarello—a CT dialect is spoken. The most recent, and detailed, of the atlases is the ALD-I: as a regional atlas,⁴⁷ ALD-I collects data in more Trentino localities than do the other two (national) atlases. Of the sixty-two Trentino linguistic points surveyed, twelve are located in CT: Trento (121 and 122; two investigations in two different areas), Civezzano (120), Vezzano (67), Vigolo Vattaro (123), Levico (119);⁴⁸ S. Michele all'Adige (63), Mezzocorona (65), Roveré della Luna (66), Cembra (113), Segonzano (112), Sicina (111).⁴⁹

Another linguistic atlas—which is still in progress—is Vivaldi (VIVaio Acustico delle Lingue e dei Dialecti d'Italia).⁵⁰ Vivaldi, unlike the other atlases, provides not only written data (the transcriptions of informants' replies) for each locality, but also the oral data produced by informants. Vivaldi proposes three types of questionnaire: phonological, lexical, and morpho-syntactical.⁵¹ In Trentino, seventeen localities were selected;⁵² in four of them (Faver, Molveno, Trento, Viarago) a CT Romance dialect is spoken. Currently, however, only Faver and Viarago data are available online.

Finally, the online platform Vinko (*Varieties in contact*),⁵³ designed by a group of researchers and technicians from the Universities of Trento and Verona as part

228 Carisolo; 217 Castelfondo; 232 Daiano; 230 Faver; 231 Fierozzo; 218 Moena; 214 Monclassico; 215 Nanno; 212 Peio; 219 Pozza di Fassa; 213 Rabbi; 245 Rovereto; 237 Stenico; 240 Strigno; 238 Trento; 238 Trento Mattarello.

47 The area investigated covers the Eastern part of Grigioni, Eastern Lombardy, Trentino and the lowest part of South Tyrol, the Ladin Dolomitic valleys, the north and part of the centre of the Veneto, western Friuli. The inquiries were conducted from 1983–1992.

48 The first six points represent localities where urban CT dialects were spoken; the last six points represent localities where rural CT dialects were spoken.

49 In other three localities, which were inquired for ALD, a CT dialect is spoken, precisely in Salorno, Egna, Bronzolo. However, they do not belong to the province of Trento and their Romance dialects are in strict contact with South-Tyrolean dialects. Moreover, we notice that in another inquired locality, Aldeno, which is very close to Trento, the spoken dialect does not belong to the group of CT varieties, being part of the southern Trentino dialects.

50 <https://www2.hu-berlin.de/vivaldi/?id=m6347&lang=it>. Roland Bauer and Dieter Kattenbusch are the scientific supervisors.

51 The quantity of morphological and syntactic data collected in Vivaldi for CT is small: the few questions concern articles, gender and number for morphology and different types of sentence (declarative, interrogative, imperative, negative) for syntax.

52 The localities are: Canal S. Bovo, Castelfondo, Alba, Faver, Camauz, Luserna, Molveno, Palù del Fersina, Peio, Predazzo, Roncone, S. Antonio di Mavignola, Stenico, Trento, Viarago, Vigo di Fassa, Volano.

53 Vinko (<https://www.vinko.it>) can be accessed from personal computers and several

of the EU Cooperation project “Atheme”,⁵⁴ presents two questionnaires, one syntactical (§1.4.3) and another one phonological. The latter consists in fifty dialectal words that the informants are asked to read aloud and record.⁵⁵ These words have been chosen to elicit the repertoire of plosive and sibilant consonants, with particular attention to the phonological processes in which they are involved. The innovative crowdsourcing website allows speakers to record themselves while pronouncing dialectal words and sentences in their native variety. So far more than three hundred speakers from all age groups (between 20 and 80 years old) and with different levels of education have taken part in the project.⁵⁶ More than fifty of them speak a CT dialect (Sover, Faver, Fornace, Cembra, Trento, Vattaro, Levico, Caldonazzo, Pergine, Lavis, Baselga di Piné). It is important to emphasize that, unlike other databases, VinKo collects oral data. Oral communication is crucial for collecting data from non-standard varieties, in which the use of writing is limited, and unfamiliar to most speakers.⁵⁷

1.4.2 *Lexicon*

The dialectal lexicon has received particular attention from many Trentino authors. Since the 19th century, when Azzolini (1856) wrote the first dialectal dictionary for the Trentino area (on Roveretano and Trentino), many dictionaries of single varieties spoken in different localities and valleys have been published.⁵⁸ Only a few of these were edited by linguists; most were written by non-linguists for the principal purpose of collecting, in one or more villages, typical dialectal words in danger of being forgotten by the young.

Five of these dictionaries focus specifically on one or more CT dialects: Ricci (1904), which presents more than 15,000 words of the dialect spoken in Trento;

mobile devices, such as Android smartphones and tablets, Apple iPads and Windows Phones, as long as the device has a (built-in or external) microphone and either Google Chrome or Mozilla Firefox.

54 <http://www.atheme.eu>.

55 The topics that the questionnaires are intended to investigate are: for phonology, obstruents and sibilants; for morphology and syntax, case syncretism in pronouns, morpho-syntax of proper names (position, case features, articles), morpho-syntax of adjectives, syntax of subject and object clitics, negative concord, complementisers, locative particles.

56 Sociolinguistic questionnaires provide main data about the speaker (age, gender, education) and the dialectal variety spoken.

57 <http://www.kit.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/?p=13739&v=2>.

58 In chronological order, the main Trentino dialectal dictionaries written after Azzolini are: Ricci (1904), Groff (1955), Prati (1960), Quaresima (1964), Tissot (1976), Scalfi (1983), Aneggi (1984), Bonapace (1985), Tomasini (1990), Biasetto (1995), Facchinelli & Scartazzini (1995), Fox (1996), Bonenti (1997), Salvadori (1999), Poletti (2007), Sottovia (2008), Grassi (2009), Gentilini (2010 and 2011), Fava & Torbol (2011), Fox (2014), Baldracchi (2016).

Groff (1955), which presents about 3,000 words of the dialect spoken in Trento; Aneggi (1984), which presents about 10,000 words of the dialect spoken in Cembra; Fox (1996), which presents 3,700 words of the dialect spoken in Piné; Fox (2014) with about 18,000 words of the dialect spoken in the city of Trento. Groff (1955) and Aneggi (1984) are also available on a CD-Rom (Archivio Lessicale dei dialetti Trentini—ALTR 2005). ALTR is an electronic version of five different dialectal Trentino dictionaries,⁵⁹ which allows various searches. Of particular use is the fact that, starting from an Italian word, one can find the corresponding dialectal form, since Italian and dialect are connected symmetrically, whereas in printed dialectal dictionaries the only research direction is from dialect to Italian (except in a few cases, where an Italian-dialect glossary is also provided).

As has already been noted for phonology in § 1.4.1, linguistic atlases are very important research tools, since they provide lexical maps that allow easy comparison of the geo-linguistic variation of words and concepts. Table 8 shows the semantic domains investigated by the AIS.

In the eight published volumes of the ALI some of the subjects covered by the AIS have not yet been explored (such as jobs, instruments, plant cultivation, animal breeding, numbers, time and space). Moreover, the order in which each domain is dealt with is different (see Table 9).

ALD-I also adopts a thematic structure in its presentation of 1,063 items. The list of the semantic domains investigated is similar to that provided by the AIS, but more detailed. It also includes new semantic fields such as: human relationships, games and amusements, musical instruments, school, church, clergy, religious feasts, religious practices and beliefs, superstitions and folklore, village and market, pets, women's jobs.

A comparison of the atlases' lexical maps shows that CT has a mixed lexicon, with both Lombard and Venetan types. Many Lombard types attested in CT are found throughout Trentino (except Valsugana and Primiero); for instance *feràr* 'smith', *fó* 'beech tree', *cóf* 'sheaf', *pàssera* 'sparrow', *rèsta* 'fishbone', *fiocàr* 'to snow', *rosàda* 'dew', *gudàz* 'godfather', *brugna* 'plum' (see Bonfadini 1983: 49). In CT one also finds many Venetan types, common to all Trentino dialects, such as: *puina* 'soft fresh cheese, ricotta', *figà* 'liver', *dònola* 'weasel', *vis* 'forehead', *zòbia* 'Thursday', *luni* 'Monday', *massa* 'too much' (Bonfadini 1983: 50). In CT, Venetan types seem to be more frequent than Lombard ones, because of the role played by the city of Trento, which, in the 20th century, adopted several innovations mainly based on Venetan models.

59 The dictionaries available in ALTR are: Groff (1955), Prati (1960), Quaresima (1964)—at the moment only partially available—Tissot (1976), Aneggi (1984).

TABLE 8 Semantic domains in the AIS

Volume	Semantic domains covered
I volume	Relatives. Ages of Life. Love, birth, marriage and death. First names. Body parts. Bodily functions. Physical qualities and handicaps.
II volume	Jobs and instruments. Trade. Numbers. Time and space. Celestial bodies. Atmospheric phenomena. Metals.
III volume	Minerals. Terrains and waters. Animals. Hunting and fishing. Forestry and woodcutters' instruments. Plants.
IV volume	Rest and toilette. Illnesses and recovery. Moral defects, qualities and feelings. Religious and social life.
V volume	House and furniture. Food. Eating and drinking.
VI volume	Big and small animal breeding. Beekeeping. Silkworm rearing. Pasture and alpine pasture. Wagons, jokes and harness.
VII volume	Fruit trees and fruit. Viticulture and wine-making. Oil production. Green gardens and gardens, grasses and legumes. Potato growing. Grass cutters' instruments. Meadow and field. Irrigation and work on the land. Cereals and their cultivation. Threshing. Wheat cleaning and storage.
VIII volume	Baskets. Hemp and linen work. Spinning and weaving. Laundry. Sewing. Clothes and shoes.

In addition to general dialectal dictionaries and linguistic atlases, some dialectal dictionaries and glossaries covering specialized semantic domains have been published: Bonomi (1884, 1889, 1891 and 1895) and Marchi (1907) present the dialectal names of Trentino birds; Bertoldi & Pedrotti (1931) focuses on the dialectal names for Trentino plants; Pedrotti (1936) investigates the Trentino terms for agricultural tools; Bravi & Doliana (1991) the parts of agricultural wagons; Boninsegna (2003) the dialectal names for tools in Predazzo. An acoustic atlas, *Il Trentino dei contadini* (Mott & Kezich 1998) is dedicated to the same topic;⁶⁰ it gives—in both the oral and the written version—the names of the objects that Scheuermeier had investigated for the AIS in Trentino valleys in the first half of the 20th century.

60 <http://www.museosanmichele.it/trentino-dei-contadini/>.

TABLE 9 ALI semantic domains

Volume	Semantic domains covered
I volume	Human body: anatomy, qualities, handicaps, prosthesis.
II volume	Human body: main functions, diseases and common pathologies, main illnesses.
III volume	Clothes.
IV volume	House and furniture: exterior, interior and furnishings (sitting room, bedroom).
V volume	House and furniture: kitchen.
VI volume	Food.
VII volume	Family; youth, maturity and old age; home life; children and adolescents.
VIII volume	Youth, maturity and old age: school, young people, weddings, adults and old people; relatives.

While general dialectal vocabularies often include a section where authors list idiomatic phrases and proverbs, several dictionaries are actually devoted exclusively to dialectal proverbs: they cover single localities or valleys (such as Azzolini 1899; Bonenti & Mognaschi 1991), or the whole Trentino area (De Mozzi 1978; Raffaelli 1981; Gubert et alii 1986; Sebesta & Tassoni 1986; Giustina 2003).

Jargon has also attracted the interest of a number of Trentino authors: Tomasini (1941) writes on the special dialect used by outdoor merchants from Tasino; the same author, some years later (1946), presents the jargon used by chimney-sweeps in the Non valley and, in 1949, publishes a study on Taron, a jargon used by men who, at the turn of the 19th century, left Rendena, a Trentino valley, to find work either in Italy or elsewhere in Europe. Franchini (1984) also compiled a dictionary, presenting hundreds of words and sentences in Taron and Rendenglese. Rendenglese is a mixed language (Rendenese dialect and English) which was spoken by Trentino migrants who had worked in Great Britain, USA, Canada, Australia. In a more general dictionary for the Trentino area, Tomasini (1992) reports a collection of dialectal jargon words.

Finally, two studies on the German influence in Trentino dialects should be mentioned. Trentino is geographically close to Austria and their histories are closely connected; indeed, Trentino was part of the Habsburg Empire until 1918/1919. Several linguistic traces of the centuries of contact between Trentino and German speaking countries are attested in the dialectal lexicon and two

recent studies present the results of systematic inquiries conducted to collect these loans: Schmid & Vigolo (1998), who focus on the German words adopted in the Non valley dialect (Noneso), mostly during the period of the Habsburg Empire, and Valduga (2002), who provides a list of some hundreds of words of German origin that have entered Trentino dialects over the years.

1.4.3 *Morphology and Syntax*

As §§ 1.4.1–2 show, many studies on Trentino dialects focus on phonology and lexicon. Trentino morphology and syntax have been somewhat ignored, and no systematic description of them exists. Partial grammatical descriptions of single varieties, mostly reporting verbal conjugation paradigms, are often squeezed into the introductions to dictionaries. Only two volumes entirely devoted to a dialectal grammar have been published so far: they deal with two Trentino varieties, Cembra dialect (Zörner 1989) and Noneso dialect (Di Biasi 2006).⁶¹

However, since the 1980s a new line of research on dialects, particularly strong within the generative grammar theoretical framework, has started to investigate the morpho-syntactic and syntactic phenomena that are crucially important in the study of micro-variation, but had been neglected by traditional dialectology. Working within this new perspective, in recent decades several scholars have explored different morphological and syntactic phenomena in Italian dialects.⁶² Many of the structures of Northern Italian dialects have also been investigated, particularly those of the dialects spoken in territories close to Trentino, such as Lombard, Venetan, and Rhaeto-Romance. All the studies on these dialects are of particular interest for Trentino.⁶³ However, in this paragraph we mention only those studies that focus explicitly on Trentino.⁶⁴ In later chapters all the subjects mentioned in this section will be discussed for CT, providing examples and comments.

Pronouns are one of the best-studied phenomena in Trentino dialects, starting from Brandi & Cordin (1981 and 1989), who studied subject clitics and null pronouns. Cordin (1993) extends the investigation to the doubling of dative clitics.

61 Several notes on Cembran grammar are also provided in Rizzolatti (1984). For the dialect spoken in Valsugana, see Prati (1916), a didactic work that presents some comparative grammatical notes.

62 A rich and systematic source of comparative data is Manzini & Savoia (2005). However, this work makes no specific reference to CT.

63 In later chapters the literature references on Northern Italian dialects will be reported for each subject.

64 Since most of these studies do not provide a specification of the considered sub-area, it is impossible to distinguish which phenomena pertain precisely to CT.

In the domain of verbs, as noted above, verbal conjugations are often the main grammatical topic presented in the introductory sections of dictionaries. More recently, other aspects of verbal phrases have been described, such as the auxiliary choice with different types of verb (Cordin 2009), past participle agreement phenomena (Gatti 1989/90 and Loporcaro & Vigolo 1995), the use and interpretation of phrasal verbs with locative adverbs (Cordin 2011), and restructuring constructions (Casalicchio & Padovan 2019).

Adami (2004) investigates some conservative structures in Noneso dialect, with particular reference to interrogatives. A number of studies focus on particles that contribute to particular pragmatic interpretations of sentences: Cognola & Schifano (2018) and Padovan & Penello (2014) discuss the adverb *bèn*, which expresses the negation of an expectation. Recalling Quaresima (1965), Loporcaro & Vigolo (1999), Chinellato (2004) and Cordin (2018) illustrate the origin and the function of *-te*, possibly an inverted subject of 1st person singular and plural expressing a non-factual interpretation.

Some specific constructions have also been studied, such as small clauses expressed by the preposition *con* followed by a locative adverb (Cordin 2014) and pseudo-relatives, gerunds, infinitives (Casalicchio 2013).

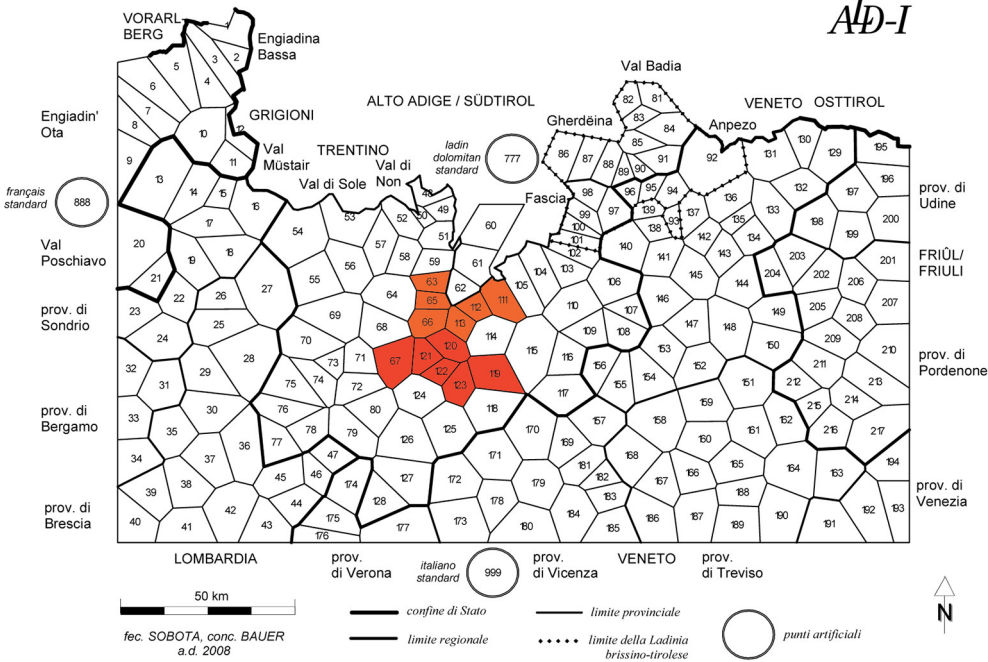
The ASIt (Atlante sintattico d'Italia) is an important database for the comparison of syntactic dialectal data.⁶⁵ The ASIt collects data from eight localities where Trentino Romance dialects are spoken.⁶⁶ The data consist in the translations of a number of input sentences that are proposed to informants in order to investigate how the dialects realize grammatical categories such as adverbs, clitics, interrogatives, exclamatives, negations, objects, quantifiers, relatives, noun phrases, prepositional phrases, subjects and verbs.

With regard to linguistic atlases, morphological oppositions are highlighted in the maps of the two national atlases, the AIS and the ALI. A more systematic mapping of morphological and syntactic aspects of Trentino dialects has been conducted by the ALD-I and the ALD-II. The former focuses on phonetics, and nominal and verbal morphology. The ALD-II (Map 6) continues the work of the ALD-I and, in addition to vocabulary, also investigates some aspects of morphology and syntax, such as possessives, demonstratives, quantifiers, personal pronouns; verbal tenses and modes; pronominal, modal, restructuring verbs; various types of sentence (interrogative, imperative, exclamative, relative, adverbial sentences).⁶⁷

65 <http://asit.maldura.unipd.it>.

66 Aldeno, Amblar, Ronzone, Rovereto, Sover, Tassullo, Vallarsa, Villa Lagarina. Only Sover is included in the CT area.

67 The online questionnaire is available at: http://ald2.sbg.ac.at/a/files/1313/2025/2433/ald2_fragebuch.pdf.



MAP 6 ALD II: CT localities (dark red areas: urban CT; light red: rural CT) BAUER (2009)

Finally, various syntactic and morphological phenomena of the Trentino dialects in general, and CT in particular, are recorded in VinKo (*Varieties in Contact*). This online platform presents Trentino informants with two different questionnaires: one is phonological (see §1.4.1), the other investigates morpho-syntactic phenomena and contains about fifty written sentences that the informants are asked to translate orally in their variety and to record. In particular, the morpho-syntactic questionnaire inquires: a) adjectival morpho-syntax, b) pronominal case syncretism, c) morpho-syntax of proper names, d) subject clitics, e) object clitics, f) negation, g) complementisers, h) verb + locative constructions.

1.4.4 Other Studies

Toponymy is a very productive study area in relation to Trentino dialects: beginning with Lorenzi’s dictionary (1932), enriched by Battisti’s research (1955, 1969), it has continued with Mastrelli Anzilotti’s work, of which we recall in particular the collection of Non Valley place names (1979), and that of the names of inhabited places in Trentino (2003).

The *Dizionario toponomastico trentino* provides an extensive, systematic repertory of place names. The project started in 1987, when a wide-ranging

research project (divided into three complementary and distinct phases) was designed for Trentino province. The first phase involved field ('geographic') research—the painstaking collection of all Trentino place names. The second phase is intended to comprise so-called 'historical' research, based on a systematic scrutiny of archival documents in order to trace how place names have changed over time. In the third phase, finally, the 'etymological' research on Trentino toponyms, building upon the massive corpus created by the field research and archival work, will take place. The order of the three phases (geographical, historical, etymological) was strongly motivated by the urgency of collecting oral data, which can only be done while the people who know the territory and remember its names are still alive. The geographical research began in 1987 and ended exactly 20 years later, in 2007. During that period, 180 researchers collected a total of 205,687 toponyms referring to 158,472 places in the 223 municipalities of the Province of Trento. Only 20 % of these names were already marked on maps of the Province; the remaining 80 % were retrieved from the oral tradition. Audio-recordings of all place names as pronounced by local speakers were made, and the toponyms were all catalogued according to established criteria. Recordings of the majority of the toponyms can also be found on an online database, which is accessible for public consultation and is constantly updated.⁶⁸ Some of the catalogue of indexed place names has been published, in 16 volumes, covering fifty six Trentino municipalities, for a total of more than 40,000 toponyms.

The *Dizionario toponomastico trentino* (DTT) is also an important source of phonetic and morphological data about Trentino dialects. Four volumes focus on CT localities: vol. 1 (Calavino, Lasino, Cavedine), vol. 8 (Bosentino, Centa S. Nicolò, Vattaro, Vigolo Vattaro), vol. 13 (Lona Lasés, Segonzano, Sovér), vol. 15 (Baselga di Piné, Bedollo). Each volume provides a geographical and a historical introduction and some introductory linguistic pages, where the main features (mostly phonetic) characterizing the specific variety spoken in the area are presented. However, the particular importance of these volumes lies in their rich place names repertoires, where very old features are attested that are no longer found in spoken dialects.

A limited number of works on diatopic and diachronic variation in Trentino dialects have been published. On the latter, we recall Papanti (1875), where

68 On the 30th of September 2019 data sheets related to 153,000 places (more than 200,000 toponyms) were available online. The DTT toponyms' repertoires are available online at: https://www.cultura.trentino.it/portal/server.pt/community/dizionario_toponomastico_trentino.

some Trentino translations from Boccaccio's *Decameron* are reported,⁶⁹ and Raffaelli (1986), who presents many versions of the *Prodigal Son's Parable*, collected by Francesco Lunelli in the period 1835–1856 in various dialects of the province. With respect to diachrony, several documents (dated between the 14th and 20th centuries), written in dialect, or—more frequently—in a mixed language (dialect, Latin, and Tuscan), are presented and commented on in Coletti, Cordin & Zamboni (1995). Finally, on diachronic variation, we recall Pellegrini (2014), a study of recent changes in the dialect as spoken by young people in Cembra.

69 *Decameron*, I day, tale IX. 18 versions represent the dialectal varieties of Trentino; four of them are written in a CT dialect (varieties spoken in Baselga di Piné, Mezzolombardo and two versions of the dialect of Trento).

Nominal Morphology

This chapter deals with the most important aspects of the inflectional and derivational morphology of nouns, and their composition in CT.

The first section describes the different morphemes used to form plural nouns (§ 2.1.1). In a second section the morphological distinction between masculine and feminine is introduced (§ 2.1.2): in CT this distinction corresponds to the general Romance pattern, other than in a limited number of cases, represented by a few nouns that present the feature [+feminine], whereas the corresponding Latin nouns are [+masculine]: *la sal*, It. *il sale* ‘the salt’, *la sòm*, It. *il sonno* ‘the sleep’. The names of many plants, especially fruit-trees (*la nogàra* ‘the nut-tree’, *la brugnàra* ‘plum-tree’), are also feminine in CT. Unlike Italian, CT does not have the inflectional plural suffix *-a*, which occurs in several Italian plural feminine nouns that are masculine in the singular.

In § 2 we consider the derivational nominal affixes in the Central Trentino lexicon, and illustrate the suffixes that are productive for de-verbal (§ 2.2.1), denominal (§ 2.2.2), and de-adjectival nouns (§ 2.2.3). Among the most frequent suffixes are those used to refer to activities, persons, objects and places: *-àda*, *-ida*, *-ùda*, *-aria*, *-dór/-dóra*, *-iér/-iéra*, *-dùra*, *-ón*, *-ór*, *-àn*, *-éssa*, *-mént*. The suffixes used for abstract nouns (*-zión*, *-ènza*) are less frequent, but still productive. These morphemes are found in several loanwords from Italian, too.

In § 2.3 we present evaluative suffixes: there are many diminutives (*-èl*, *-èla*, *-òt*, *-òta*, *-àt*, *-àta*, *-ét*, *-éta*, *-ìn*, *-ina*), sometimes used in combinations of two; two pejoratives (*-àc’/-àz*, *-àcia/-àza*); and only one augmentative form (*-ón*, *-óna*).

In § 2.4 we report nominal prefixes. The most common are: *a-*, *con-*, *des-*, *em-/en-*, *re-/ri-*, *s-*; this last, in particular, is widely used and functions as an intensive prefix. Finally, in the same paragraph, we present some prefixoids that frequently occur in CT: *drio-*, *cóntro-*, *sóto-*, *sóra-*, *stra-*.

Most of the examples given in these sections are taken from ALTR (2005). This is also the source for many compounds and other phrasal nouns in § 2.5: in this last paragraph we describe CT’s two main composition strategies: $[X+X]_{NP}$ compounds (in particular: VN, AN, NA, NN) and N-P-(det.)-N phrasal nouns, and show that the latter is by far the most common in this dialect.

2.1 Nominal Inflection: Number and Gender

2.1.1 *Number*

CT uses various morphemes for the formation of plural nouns, of which the most productive are presented below in Table 10.

Plural feminine nouns are regularly formed by changing the vowel *-a* into the vowel *-e* (class 1). Most masculine nouns end in a consonant in the singular, and in the plural they present the same consonant followed by the vowel *-i* (class 2). In some cases, however, the ending consonant in the singular is different from the consonant followed by *-i* in the plural.¹

A few hundred masculine nouns end in *-o* in the singular and in *-i* in the plural (class 3). The final vowel *-o* for a singular masculine noun usually occurs when preceded by an affricate consonant (*coèrcio/coèrci* 'lid/lids', *cincio/cinci* 'drunkard/drunkards', *batòcio/batòci* 'stick/sticks', *bargio/bargi* 'rough man/rough men'), or by a consonant cluster containing *r* (*enpiastro/enpiastrì* 'compress/compresses', *ghirlo/ghirli* 'top/tops (toy)', *gaùrlo/gaùrli* 'rascal/rascals'). A handful of cases are attested where the consonant preceding the ending *-o* is an occlusive velar (*bacuco/bacuchi* 'very old man/very old men', *mago/maghi* 'magician/magicians', *dugo/dughi* 'stupid man/stupid men', *cögo/cöghi* 'chef/chefs').

Another class (class 4) includes singular masculine nouns ending in a stressed vowel + *l* and forming the plural with the same vowel followed by the vowel *-i*, probably through the sequence *li* > **-l(i)* > *-i*, (some examples are: *anzol/ànzoi* 'angel/angels', *stivàl/stivài* 'boot/boots', *regàl/regài* 'gift/gifts', *castèl/castèi* 'castle/castles', *zervèl/zervèi* 'brain/brains', *capèl/capèi* 'hat/hats', *putèl/putèi* 'boy/boys', *cavél/cavèi* 'hair').² However, when the singular noun is monosyllabic, the lateral consonant remains (*bal/bali* 'dance/dances', *pal/pali* 'pole/poles', *vól/vóli* 'flight/flights').

The last class in Table 10 (class 5) includes those nouns that in the singular end in a stressed vowel that derives from the Latin suffix *-ATUM*, *-ETUM*, *-ITUM* *-OTEM*. In the plural the dialectal nouns end in *-di*, as illustrated by the examples: *dé/dédi* 'finger/fingers', *cugnà/cugnadi* 'brother in law/brothers in law', *fià/fiadi* 'breath/breaths', *neó/neódi* 'nephew/nephews'.

1 CT never presents final voiced consonants: voiced consonants [g], [v], [d], [b], [z], preceded by a vowel and followed by *-i* in the plural, occur as [-voiced] consonants in the singular, when they are at the end of a word. See for instance: *lach/laghi* 'lake/lakes', *föch/föghi* 'fire/fires', *sbréch/sbréghi* 'tear/tears', *zich/zighi* 'cry/cries', *òf/òvi* 'egg/eggs', *vòit/vòidi* 'empty bottle/empty bottles', *més/mési* 'month/months'.

2 Rohlfs (1966: § 233).

TABLE 10 The most productive inflectional classes in CT

Class	Sg noun ending	Pl noun ending	Gender	Examples
1	-a	-e	F	<i>casa/case</i> ‘house/houses’
2	consonant	consonant + i	M	<i>cól/p/cólpi</i> ‘stroke/strokes’
3	-o	-i	M	<i>pòpo/pòpi</i> ‘little boy/little boys’
4	vowel + l	vowel + i	M	<i>matèl/matèi</i> ‘boy/boys’
5	stressed vowel < -ATUM, -ITUM	-àdi, -édi	M	<i>pra/pradi</i> ‘meadow/meadows’; <i>dé/dédi</i> ‘finger/fingers’

Table 11 presents some other inflectional classes that are less common in CT than those in Table 10.

Some feminine nouns, which end in an alveolar nasal, maintain the same form in the plural and do not add a vowel (class 6). This is the case of nouns ending in -ón (such as *resón/resón* ‘reason/reasons’), or deriving from suffixation with -zión, -sión (such as *abitazzión/abitazzión* ‘house/houses’, *processión/processión* ‘parade/parades’). Two other very small classes of feminine nouns maintain the same form in the singular and in the plural: one group presents an ending consonant (class 7: *bólp/bólp* ‘fox/foxes’, *as/as* ‘board/boards’, *arís/arís* ‘root/roots’), while the other group always ends in a vowel -o (class 8: *ào/ào* ‘bee/bees’). The same final vowel -o preceded by another vowel also occurs in some masculine nouns that derive from the Latin suffix -EVUM, -AVUM, in which the intervocal -v- has fallen; their plural forms present the sequence ‘vowel + *v* + *l*’ (class 9: *bao/bavi* ‘insect/insects’, *arléo/arlévi* ‘pupil/pupils’, *cao/cavi* ‘cable/cables’). A few masculine nouns ending in -a in the singular change the final vowel into -i in the plural (class 10: *poèta/poèti* ‘poet/poets’, *bòcia/bòci* ‘boy/boys’, *barba/barbi* ‘uncle/uncles’).

For the other classes of Table 11 there are very few examples: in class 11 we find masculine singular nouns ending in -e, with the plural form in -i. Most of the words in this class are loanwords from Italian: *prète/prèti* ‘priest/priests’, *pèste/pèsti* ‘pest/pests’. In class 12, nouns with a final stressed -é deriving from Latin -ETEM form plurals in -éde (*ré/réde* ‘net/nets’); in class 13, masculine singular nouns ending in a stressed vowel present plural forms ending in a stressed vowel + *i* (*bò/bòi* ‘ox/oxen’, *pè/pèi* ‘foot/feet’); in class 14, masculine singular nouns ending in -i do not change in the plural (*provèrbi/provèrbi* ‘proverb/proverbs’, *asi/asi* ‘comfort/comforts’, *bimbi/bimbi* ‘dress/dresses’,³ *tòni/tòni* ‘cover-

3 The word is typical of baby talk.

TABLE 11 Other inflectional classes in CT

Class	Sg noun ending	Pl noun ending	Gender	Examples
6	-n	-n	F	<i>pratenziòn/pratenziòn</i> 'demand/demands'
7	consonant	consonant	F	<i>bólp/bólp</i> 'fox/foxes'
8	-o	-o	F	<i>ào/ào</i> 'bee/bees'
9	-o	-vi	M	<i>bào/bàvi</i> 'insect/insects'
10	-a	-i	M	<i>bòcia/bòci</i> 'boy/boys'
11	-e	-i	M	<i>prète/prèti</i> 'priest/priests'
12	-é < -ETEM	-éde	F	<i>ré/réde</i> 'net/nets'
13	stressed vowel	stressed vowel + i	M	<i>bò/bòi</i> 'ox/oxen', <i>pè/pèi</i> 'foot/feet'
14	-i	-i	M	<i>provèrbi/provèrbi</i> 'proverb/proverbs'
15	-ò	-ò	M	<i>filò/filò</i> 'typical peasants evening watch in the stable'

all/coveralls', *sòci/sòci* 'mate/mates', *scritòri/scritòri* 'desk/desks'); in class 15, a small number of nouns deriving from verbs and ending in a stressed vowel maintain the same form in the singular and in the plural (*filò/filò* 'typical evening meeting/meetings in the stable', *scampanò/scampanò* 'sound/sounds of bells', *pastolò/pastolò* 'mixture/mixtures of food for chicken', *rulò/rulò* 'roller shutter/shutters', from French *rouleau*).

2.1.2 Gender

CT nouns have either a [+masculine] feature or a [+feminine] feature. The comparison between CT and Italian shows only a few differences in a small number of nouns with the same etyma, such as *la sòm*, It. *il sonno*, 'sleepiness', *la récia* It. *l'orecchio* 'ear', *l'ombrèla* It. *l'ombrello* 'umbrella'. It should be noted that the use of these feminine forms is decreasing sharply: until some years ago, old speakers of rural CT varieties used them, but now young people use the masculine (Italian) form.

Feminine gender is also assigned to several nouns that refer to plants:⁴ *l'àlbera*, It. *il pioppo*, 'poplar', *l'ampérta*, It. *il biancospino*, 'hawthorn', *l'aonèla*, It.

4 The sources for these examples are Groff (1955) and Aneggi (1984).

l'ontano, 'alder', *la bizara*, It. *il pisello*, 'pea-plant', *la biancara*, It. *il sorbo*, 'sorb', *le bràncole*, It. *il sedano selvatico*, 'wild celery', *la brugnara*, It. *il susino*, 'plum-tree', *la carézza*, It. *il carice*, 'sedge', *la nogara*, It. *il noce*, 'nut-tree', *la perotolara*, It. *il pero*, 'tree of little pears'.

In CT the feature [+masculine] is also occasionally found with nouns corresponding to Italian feminine nouns: two—of the few—examples are *el rao*,⁵ It. *la rapa*, 'turnip', and *el léor* It. *la lepre* 'hare'.⁶

Note, moreover, that the masculine feature is frequent—as it is in Italian—in nouns altered by the augmentative suffix *-ón*, even when the basis noun is feminine, as the following examples show: *la barca/el barcón* 'boat/large boat', *la zentura/el zenturón* 'belt/large belt', *la còrda/el cordón* 'rope/big rope', *la baréta/el baretón* 'cap/heavy cap', *la crèpa/el crepón* 'crack/large crack', *la féver/el feverón* 'temperature/high temperature', *la giara/el giarón* 'gravel/big gravel' (see also § 2.3).

Furthermore, CT does not have the inflectional suffix *-a* that occurs in several Italian plural feminine nouns that are masculine in the singular (*il braccio/le braccia* 'arm/arms', *l'uovo/le uova* 'egg/eggs', *il muro/le mura* 'wall/walls', *il ginocchio/le ginocchia* 'knee/knees', *il dito/le dita* 'finger/fingers', *il labbro/le labbra* 'lips'). The corresponding CT nouns present a [+masculine] feature in both the singular and the plural (ending in *-i*): *el braz/i bràzi*, *l'òf/i òvi*, *el mur/i muri*, *el ginòcio/i ginòci*, *el dé/i dédi*, *el làor/i làori*.

Finally, in CT many nouns referring to a feminine person present the final suffix *-a*, either when they have a corresponding masculine noun ending in *-o*, which derives from the first Latin declension (such as *maèstro/maèstra* 'teacher', *cògo/còga* 'chef'), or when they have a corresponding masculine noun ending in a consonant, which derives from the second and third Latin declension (*zòven/zòvena* 'young man/woman', *fiòl/ fiòla* 'son/daughter'). Several nominal pairs formed by a masculine and a feminine noun refer to agents, and present a derivational suffix, such as *-ìn/-ina*, *-iér/-iéra*, *-àr/-àra*, *-dór/-dóra* (*postìn/postina* 'postman/woman', *cassiér/cassiera* 'male/female cashier', *malgàr/malgara* 'man/woman working in an alpine stable', *cernidór/cernidóra* 'man/woman selecting fruit for the market'). Only feminine agents ending in *-éssa*, which often have a negative connotation, are asymmetric with respect to the masculine, which present no suffix, or may not exist (*comandaréssa* 'bossy woman who is used to giving orders'). All these nouns are illustrated in § 2.2. In this section we note the following three aspects: a) there are fewer feminine

⁵ Aneggi (1984).

⁶ Note that the corresponding Latin word *LEPOREM* (acc.) is masculine.

nouns than their masculine correspondents; b) the former are mainly relegated to typical “feminine” actions, such as the care of children, or the sick, housework and the arts; c) loanwords from Italian obey the same strategies.

2.2 Nominal Derivational Suffixes

Derivational morphology in CT displays a wide range of possibilities. Although most suffixes have similar derivations and meanings to the Italian, in a few cases their properties differ, particularly with regard to their frequency.

2.2.1 *De-verbal Nouns*

Table 12 presents the suffixes used to form de-verbal nouns. For each morpheme one example and a general meaning (such as person, instrument, place, concrete object, abstract object, collective, action noun) are provided.

Some of the suffixes presented in Table 12 are particularly productive in CT. The suffix *-àda*, for instance, is very common with verbal roots. The derived nouns refer to single inherently bound events,⁷ as the examples in (1a) illustrate:

- (1) a. *magnada* < *magnàr* ‘to eat’ ‘binge’, *cantada* < *cantàr* ‘singing together’, *passada* < *passàr* ‘visit’, *becada* < *becàr* ‘prick’, *balada* < *balàr* ‘dancing’, *sonada* < *sonàr* ‘playing instruments’, *caminada* < *caminàr* ‘walk’, *scaldada* < *scaldàr* ‘heatwave’, *sfadigada* < *sfadigàr* ‘fatigue’, *stracada* < *stracàr* ‘tiredness’, *strucada* < *strucàr* ‘wring’, *zacada* < *zacàr* ‘bite’, *vardada* < *vardàr* ‘quick look’, *ciavada* < *ciavàr* ‘fucking’, *pelàda* < *pelàr* ‘bald-head’, *pensada* < *pensàr* ‘thought’, *petenada* < *petenàr* ‘combing’, *sdrelada* < *sdrelàr* ‘reproach’, *zifolada* < *zifolàr* ‘whistling’, *ciuciada* < *ciuciàr* ‘sucking’, *embotonada* < *embotonàr* lit. ‘buttoning up’ ‘scam’, *laorada* < *laoràr* ‘working hard’, *slapada* < *slapàr* lit. ‘eating a lot’, ‘binge’, *lavada* < *lavàr* ‘washing’, *slavazada* < *slavazàr* ‘washing’, *menada* < *menàr* lit. ‘to bring’, ‘something boring’, *remenada* < *remenàr* ‘punching’.

⁷ See Gaeta (2004: 340).

TABLE 12 Nominal suffixes in CT for de-verbal nouns

CT suffix < Latin suffix	Meaning	Example
-ada < -ATAM	single case of an activity	<i>netada</i> 'cleaning'
-dura < -TURAM	result of an activity	<i>segadura</i> 'sawing'
-ant/ént <	person or object	<i>scrivànt</i> 'scribe'
-ANTEM/ENTEM		<i>fumént</i> 'steam'
-anza/-ènza <	result	<i>fitanza</i> 'rent'
-ANTIAM/ENTIAM		
-aria < -ARIAM	collective	<i>magnaria</i> 'illegal profits'
-dór /- dóra <	agent	<i>cazzadór</i> 'hunter'
-TOREM		<i>cernidóra</i> 'female sorter'
-dóra < -TORIAM	instrument	<i>spazzadóra</i> 'broom'
-ènza < -ENTIAM	abstract	<i>providènza</i> 'providence'
-ida < -ITAM	single case of an activity	<i>stremida</i> 'scare'
-uda < -UTAM		<i>bevuda</i> 'drink'
-ìn, -ina < -INUM, —INAM	agent	<i>balarìn</i> '(male) dancer'
		<i>balarina</i> '(female) dancer'
-ión < -IONEM	abstract	<i>ripetizzión</i> 'repetition'
-mént < -MENTUM	collective	<i>nutrimént</i> 'food'
-ón < -ONEM	person	<i>magnón</i> 'big eater'
-ór < -OREM	result of a process	<i>brusór</i> 'burning sensation'
-tòri < -TORIUM	place	<i>purgatòri</i> 'purgatory'

The suffixes *-ida*, *-ida* (1b) and *-uda* (1c), which derive from 2nd and 3rd conjugation verbs and are less frequently attested than *-ada*, also form nouns expressing single telic cases of an activity:

- b. *boïda* < *boir* 'boiling', *cosida* < *cosir* 'sewing', *dormida* < *dormir* 'sleep',
sortida < *sortir* 'joke', *s-ciarida* < *s-ciarir* 'clearing up (for weather)'
- c. *pianzuda* < *piànzer* 'cry', *bevuda* < *béver* 'drink'

Nouns presenting *-dura* express the result of an action:

- (2) *cosidura* < *cosir* 'seam', *fassadura* < *fassàr* 'bandage', *limadura* < *limàr* 'fil-
ing powder', *rassadura* < *rassàr* 'scratch', *scotadura* < *scotàr* 'burn'

A few nouns present the endings *-ànt/-ént*. They refer to persons or objects whose function is suggested by the verbal root:

- (3) *tirànt* < *tiràr* 'beam', *fumént* < *fumàr* 'steam'

Although rare, *-anza/-ènza* are typical suffixes that CT uses to express properties or results of an action:⁸

- (4) *missianza* < *missiàr* 'something mixed', *perdonanza* < *perdonàr* 'forgiveness', *vigilanza* < *vigilàr* 'watch', *providènza* < *provéder* 'providence'

The suffix *-ària* is not frequent. When it does occur, it forms a collective noun, with a figurative meaning and a negative connotation, referring to a situation which provokes a strong negative feeling:

- (5) *magnària* < *magnàr* 'situation where private—often illegal—interests prevail', *reghelària* < *reghelàr* 'confusion, mess', *stomegària* < *stomegàr* 'revolting situation'

The suffix *-dór* is commonly used to refer to both a masculine agent (see (6a)) and an instrument (see (6b)):

- (6) a. *batidór* < *bater* 'thresher', *bestemiadór* < *bestemiàr* 'swearer', *sbiancheggiadór* < *sbiancheggiàr* 'painter', *caciadór* < *caciàr* 'hunter', *coridór* < *córer* 'runner', *regidór* < *réger* 'governor', *sonadór* < *sonàr* 'player', *stizegadór* < *stizegàr* 'teaser', *zapadór* < *zapàr* 'hoer'
- b. *boidór* < *boir* 'boiler', *squazadór* < *squazàr* 'watering can', *radór* < *ràder* 'shaver', *coidór* < *coir* 'instrument used to collect fruit', *pestadór* < *pestàr* 'grape press'

The less frequent corresponding feminine suffix *-dóra* refers either to instruments (6c) or to feminine agents. It corresponds to the Latin suffix *-TRICEM*, which in CT is not maintained (6d):

- c. *magnadóra* < *magnàr* 'trough', *andadóra* < *nàr* 'bridge conducting to the farmyard', *sbalanzadóra* < *sbalanzàr* 'swing', *cargadóra* < *cargàr* 'elevated level to load a cart', *cosidóra* < *cosir* 'sewing machine', *portadóra* < *portàr* 'hinge', *sonadóra* < *sonàr* 'accordion'

⁸ The existence of CT loanwords such as *faulènza* < German *faulenzen* 'idleness' confirms the productivity of the suffix *-ènza*.

- d. *cernidóra* < *cèrner* ‘woman who separates fruits depending on their size for the market’, *cosidóra* < *cosìr* ‘seamstress’

Deverbal nouns ending in *-in*, *-ina* refer to male or female agents. Some of them are formed with the interfix (*-er-*):

- (7) *spazzìn* < *spazzàr* ‘street sweeper’, *canterina* < *cantàr* ‘girl who usually sings’, *balerìn* < *balàr* ‘dancer’

The suffix *-ión* is relatively common. In CT it is found in a certain number of loanwords taken from Italian abstract nouns ending in *-ióne* (8a). In some cases they correspond to abstract nouns that derive from a pronominal verb, which present a different suffix in Italian (8b):

- (8) a. *impressión* < It. *impressione* ‘impression’, *passión* < It. *passione* ‘passion’, *processión* < It. *processione* ‘procession’
 b. *cambiazzió* < *cambiarse* ‘change’, It. ‘cambiamento’, *cargazzió* < *car-garse* ‘indigestion’ It. lit. ‘caricamento’, *pentizzió* < *pentirse* ‘regret’ It. ‘pentimento’, *promissió* < *prométerse* ‘engagement’ It. ‘promessa’, *salvagió* < *salvarse* ‘salvation’ It. ‘salvezza’

Some CT nouns ending in *-mént* have an abstract meaning; most of them are loanwords from Italian (9a).

- (9) a. *ardimént* ‘courage’, *aumént* ‘growing’, *document* ‘document’, *fondamént* ‘foundation’, *testamént* ‘will’

Only few nouns in *-mént* derive from a dialectal verb; they suggest a collective interpretation (9b):

- b. *sonamént* < *sonàr* ‘resound’, *brigolamént* < *brigolàr* ‘mass’, *pestolamént* < *pestolàr* ‘many people moving together’, *empastamént* < *empastàr* ‘dough’, *ordimént* < *ordìr* ‘warped’, *stiramént* < *tiràr* ‘stretching’

The suffix *-ón* combined with a verbal root is common in CT where it refers to people who are characterised by their frequent performance of the action, often negatively connotated, that is expressed by the verb (see examples in 10a).

- (10) a. *frignón* < *frignàr* ‘person who complains frequently’, *desmentegón* < *desmentegàr* ‘person who often forgets things’, *babón* < *babàr* ‘person who talks a lot’, *brontolón* < *brontolàr* ‘person who grumbles continuously’

Other nouns with the same suffix refer to the result or goal of the action expressed by the verbal root:

- b. *becón* < *becàr* ‘puncture’, *beverón* < *béver* ‘mash’, *sponzón* < *spónzer* ‘puncture’, *strucón* < *strucàr* ‘grip’, *zacón* < *zacàr* ‘bite’, *mordón* < *mòrder* ‘bite’, *rudolón* < *rudolàr* ‘tumble’

The suffix *-tòri* refers to a place where a certain action is performed, literally or figuratively:

- (11) *mortòri* < *morìr* lit. ‘to die’, fig. ‘place without movement, sounds, energy’, *ghinociatòri* < *ghinociarse* ‘kneeling stool’, *gomitòri* < *gomitàr* ‘to vomit’, fig. ‘repellent place’, *scritòri* < *scrìver* ‘desk’

2.2.2 *De-nominal Nouns*

The suffixes used in CT for de-nominal nouns are listed in Table 13. For each morpheme one example and a general meaning (such as person, instrument, place, concrete object, abstract object, collective, action noun) are provided.

When the suffix *-ada* occurs with a nominal base, it produces a variety of meanings. The derived noun can refer to: a) a blow with the object expressed by the base (12a); b) a sudden meteorological event (12b); c) the sudden movement of a body part (12c); d) a negative action (12d); e) a quantity (12e); f) other (12f):⁹

- (12) a. *šbadilada* < *badìl* ‘blow with a shovel’, *sficonada* < *ficón* ‘blow with a pointed stick’, *spironada* < *piróna* ‘blow with a fork’, *uciada* < *ùcia* ‘stitch’, *zucada* < *zuca* ‘head blow’, *scopelada* < *scopèla* ‘strong smack’, *scornada* < *còrno* lit. ‘blow with (an animal’s) horns’; fig. ‘failure’
b. *brumada* < *bruma* ‘fog’, *refolada* < *rèfol* ‘gust of wind’, *giazzada* < *giàz* ‘frost’, *tompestada* < *tompèsta* ‘tempest’, *tonada* < *tòn* lit. ‘thunder’; ‘strong blow’

⁹ Rainer (2004: 253).

TABLE 13 Nominal suffixes in CT for de-nominal nouns

CT suffix < Latin suffix	Meaning	Example
-ada < -ATAM	blow	<i>peada</i> 'kick'
	measure	<i>cuciarada</i> 'spoonful'
-àm < -AMEN	collective	<i>foiàm</i> 'leaves'
-àn < -ANUM	person	<i>vilàn</i> 'peasant'
-àr, -ara < -ARIUM, -ARIAM	person	<i>montanàr</i> 'highlander'
	fruit plant	<i>pomàr</i> 'apple tree'
	object	<i>calamàr</i> 'inkwell'
-aria < -ARIAM	collective	<i>becaria</i> 'meat shop'
-éssa < -ISSA	person (woman)	<i>baronéssa</i> 'baroness'
	personification	<i>ventéssa</i> 'sirocco'
-ièr, -ièra < -IEREM, -IERAM	agent	<i>camerier</i> 'waiter'
		<i>cameriera</i> 'maid'
	place/container	<i>tabachiera</i> 'tobacco tin'
-ìn, -ina < -INUM, -INAM	agent	<i>postin</i> 'postman'
		<i>postina</i> 'postwoman'
	ethnic	<i>trentin</i> , <i>trentina</i> 'from Trento/from Trentino'
-ista < -ISTAM	person	<i>autista</i> 'driver'
-mént < -MENTUM	collective	<i>casamént</i> 'housing block'
-ménta < -MENTA	collective	<i>feraménta</i> 'hardware'
-ón < -ONEM	person	<i>compagnón</i> 'person who likes company'

- c. *sboconada* < *bocón* 'bite', *scapelada* < *capèl* 'doffing a hat to greet someone', *sorsada* < *sórs* 'sip', *spirada* < *spir* 'breath', *ociada* < *òcio* 'look', *ongiada* < *óngia* 'scratch'
- d. *asenada* < *àsen* lit. 'donkey'; 'unreasonable action', *cazzada* < *càzzo* lit. 'dick'; 'bull-shit', *spressolada* < *prèssa* 'something finished in a hurry', *gigiada* < *Gigio* lit. 'action typical of Gigio', 'ridiculous action', *caliarada* < *caliàr* lit. 'product typical of a shoemaker'; 'something badly made', *vacada* < *vaca* lit. 'something typical of a cow'; 'something badly done', *porcada* < *pòrco* lit. 'something typical of a pig'; 'something badly done'
- e. *sbadilada* < *badil* 'a shovelful', *spironada* < *piróna* 'a forkful'
- f. *panada* < *pan* 'dish prepared with bread', *peverada* < *péver* 'dish prepared with pepper'

The (few) nouns that present the suffix *-àm* refer to a homogeneous set of objects, animals or individuals:

- (13) *bestiàm* < *bèstia* 'cattle', *legnàm* < *légna* 'wood', *refudàm* < *refudòt* 'waste'

The suffix *-àn* occurs in nouns that refer to people who are being characterized by whatever the lexical root expresses. *Ciciliàn*, meaning Italian language, is the only exception.¹⁰

- (14) *capelàn* < *capèl* 'chaplain', *ciarlatàn* < *ciarla* 'barker', *paesàn* < *paés* 'countryman', *taliàn* < *Italia* 'Italian', *vilàn* < *vila* 'peasant', *ciciliàn* < *Cicilia* lit. 'Sicilian' 'Italian language'

Nouns ending in *-àr* usually refer to professions (15a);¹¹ the equivalent suffix for the feminine is *-ara* (15b)). Both these suffixes can be used for trees (15c).¹² Finally, a few nouns refer to places containing the object expressed by the nominal root (15d):

- (15) a. *becàr* < *béch* 'butcher', *bandàr* < *banda* 'player in a band', *boràr* < *bóra* 'timber', *botàr* < *bót* 'cooper', *brentàr* < *brènta* 'bucket builder', *caoràr* < *càora* 'goats man', *carbonàr* < *carbón* 'coalman', *cestàr* < *cést* 'basket-maker', *feràr* < *fèr* 'smith', *malgàr* < *malga* 'man who works in an alpine stable', *molinàr* < *molìn* 'miller', *strazzàr* < *strazza* 'rag merchant', *scolàr* < *scòla* 'pupil', *ombrelàr* < *ombrèla* 'umbrella-maker'
- b. *malgara* < *malga* 'woman who works in an alpine stable', *scolara* < *scòla* 'girl who attends a school, pupil', *filandara* < *filanda* 'woman who works in a textile mill'
- c. *bisàr* < *bisi* 'pea plant', *brugnàr* o *brugnara* < *brugna* 'prune tree', *noselàr* < *nosèla* 'hazelnut tree', *nespolàr* < *nèspola* 'medlar', *moràr* < *móra* 'blackberry bush', *figàr* < *figo* 'fig tree', *fasolàr* < *fasòl* 'bean plant', *codognàr* < *codògna* 'quince tree', *castagnàr* < *castagna* 'chestnut tree', *peràr* o *perara* < *péra* 'pear tree', *persegàr* < *pèrsech* 'peach tree', *pomàr* < *póm* 'apple tree', *biancara* < *bianco* lit. 'white tree' 'sorb', *nogàr* o *nog-ara* < *nós* 'nut tree'

¹⁰ Groff (1955).

¹¹ A few forms that denote a profession (*tisler* 'wood-worker', *pinter* 'cooper') only used by old speakers are Tyrolean loanwords; on other loanwords referring to professions and attested in Trentino anthroponomy, see Cordin (2017).

¹² Tree nouns may also present the feminine suffix *-ara*.

- d. *bespàr* < *bèspa* 'wasps' nest', *calamàr* < It. *calamaio* 'inkwell', *seciàr* < *sécio* 'wash basin'

Three main meanings are associated with the suffix *-aria*: a place characterized by the presence of the object/person expressed by the nominal root (16a); a negatively connoted group of persons—sometimes objects—(16b); an action connoted by a negative figurative interpretation of the object/person expressed in the verbal root (16c):

- (16) a. *becaria* < *béch* 'butcher shop', *ostaria* < *òste* 'tavern', *spezziaria* < *spèzzia* 'spice shop', *ragnaria* < *ragn* 'place with many spiders'
 b. *strazzaria* < *strazza* 'many rags together', *mularia* < *mulo*¹³ 'group of boys', *pitocaria* < *pitòco* 'group of beggars', *scagnaria* < *cagn* 'group of sneaky people'
 c. *remengaria* < *reméngo* fig. 'place for wretched people', *rugantaria* < *rug-ànt* fig. 'place for pigs', *sporcaria* < *spórch* 'dirty place', fig. 'something badly done'

The suffix *-essa* is used to refer to a female human agent:¹⁴

- (17) *badéssa* < *badia* 'abbess', *comandaréssa* < *comandàr* 'bossy woman', *con-téssa* < *cónte* 'countess', *baronéssa* < *barón* 'baronesse'

Many nouns referring to human agents present the suffixes *-iér*, *-iéra* (18a–b):

- (18) a. *camerier* < *càmera* 'waiter', *cantiniér* < *cantina* 'worker in a wine cellar', *finanziér* < *finanza* 'customs officer', *cassier* < *cassa* 'cashier', *consiliér* < *consilio* 'counselor', *contrabandiér* < *contrabando* 'smuggler', *pompier* < *pómpa* 'fireman', *magaziniér* < *magazìn* 'warehouse worker', *infermiér* < It. *infermiere* 'male nurse'
 b. *cameriera* < *càmera* 'maid', *cassiera* < *cassa* 'female cashier', *infermiera* < It. *infermiere* 'female nurse'

13 *Mulo* 'ragazzo' ('boy') is attested in Tissot (1976) for the Primiero dialect. The term, however, is also used in other Trentino areas, and in other regions (e.g. in the Trieste dialect), at least as a root for derived nouns.

14 *Ventéssa* < *vènt* 'sirocco' is the only case attested in the ALTR in which the suffix *-essa* is used to refer to a feminine non-human noun.

The suffix *-iéra* can also refer to a place in which something is contained (the particular object is indicated by the lexical root):

- c. *supiéra* < *supa* 'soup tureen', *tabachiéra* < *tabàch* 'tobacco tin'

The suffixes *-ìn/-ina* indicate profession (19a), or geographical origin. Several ethnic nouns in CT present this ending (19b):¹⁵

- (19) a. *contadìn* < *contado* '(male) peasant', *contadina* < *contado* 'peasant woman', *postìn* < *pòsta* 'post man', *postina* < *pòsta* 'post woman'
 b. *vicentìn* 'person from Vicenza', *feltrìn* 'person from Feltre', *bolzanìn* 'person from Bolzano'

The suffix *-ista* is rare in CT, and is only found in a few nouns, which indicate an agent:

- (20) *balista* < *bàla* 'liar', *artista* < *arte* 'artist', *bandista* < Engl. *band* 'player in a band'

Only a handful of nouns end in *-mént* (21a) or *-ménta* (21b). Their interpretation is collective:

- (21) a. *casamént* < *casa* 'housing block'
 b. *feraménta* < *fèr* 'metal-ware', *filaménta* < *fil* 'fibre', *vestiménta* < *vestì* 'clothes'

The suffix *-ón* combined with a nominal root is quite common and expressive in CT. It suggests: a) a person characterized by the possess of whatever is expressed by the nominal root, or by qualities associated with the nominal root (22a); b) a big object or a big animal (22b):

- (22) a. *asenón* < *asen* 'person who behaves like a donkey', *bafón* < *bafi* 'person who has an impressive moustache', *barbón* < *barba* 'person who has an impressive beard' or fig. 'homeless', *smargelón* < *smargèla* 'snotty kid', *pagnocón* < *pagnòca* lit. 'type of bread', fig. 'very quiet person', *slenguazón* < *lèngua* 'person who gossips'

15 Many local toponyms and surnames present this suffix (see Cordin 2017).

- b. *aón* < *ào* 'male bee', *bachetón* < *bachét* 'sticky twig for catching birds', *bandón* < *banda* 'large tin container', *balón* < *bala* 'big ball' or 'binge', *šberlón* < *šbèrta* 'hard slap', *bozzón* < *bòzza* 'big bottle', *formetón* < *formént* 'corn', *giarón* < *giara* 'gravel slope', *sgrifón* < *sgrif* 'scratch', *moscón* < *mósca* 'big fly', *zesón* < *zésa* 'big bush'

2.2.3 De-adjectival Nouns

Table 14 presents the suffixes used to form de-adjectival nouns. For each morpheme one example and a general meaning (such as person, instrument, place, concrete object, abstract object, collective, action noun) are provided.

Very few nouns end in *-ézza*: they are all abstract, just like their Italian equivalents (23):¹⁶

- (23) *altézza* < *alt* 'height', *belézza* < *bèl* 'beauty', *brutézza* < *brut* 'ugliness', *contentézza* < *contènt* 'happiness', *gentilézza* < *gentile* 'politeness', *strachézza* < *strach* 'tiredness'

The suffix *-ità* occurs in a few abstract nouns that have the same ending in Italian (24a), but it also occurs in other abstract nouns that have a different ending in Italian (24b):

- (24) a. *carità* < *caro* 'charity', *umidità* < *umit* 'humidity', *verità* < *véro* 'truth'
 b. *strachità* < *strach* It. *stanchezza* 'tiredness', *matità* < *mat* It. *pazzia* 'madness', *fondità* < *fónt* It. *profondità* 'depth', *qualità* < *egual* It. *eguaglianza* 'equality'

Very few abstract nouns, probably loanwords from Italian, end in *-izzia*:

- (25) *avarizzia* 'stinginess', *primizzia* 'early produce'

De-adjectival nouns ending in *-ón* are frequent: they generally refer to people characterized by a particular quality:

- (26) *laorentón* < *laorènt* 'slogger', *dormenzón* < *dormenzà* 'sleepyhead', *šgionfón* < *šgiónf* 'greedy', *gosón* < *gòs* 'greedy person', *šlandrón* < *šlandra* 'slacker', *pelandrón* < *pelandra* 'slacker', *sdravelón* < *sdravèla* 'careless person', *šlonghignón* < *lónch* 'tall person'

16 At least one CT noun, however, is formed with the suffix *-ézza*, whereas the Italian equivalent ends in *-ità*: *fondézza* < *fónt* 'depth'.

TABLE 14 Nominal suffixes in CT for de-adjectival nouns

CT suffix < Latin suffix	Meaning	Example
-ézza < -ITIAM	abstract	<i>ligerézza</i> ‘lightness’
-ità < -ITA(TEM)	abstract	<i>umidità</i> ‘humidity’ <i>matità</i> ‘madness’
-izzia < -ITIAM	abstract	<i>giustizzia</i> ‘justice’
-ón < -ONEM	person	<i>pigrón</i> ‘lazy bones’

Summarizing the patterns exemplified in §§ 2.2.1, 2.2.2, 2.2.3 we see that in CT:

- a) the most frequent nominal suffixes are those referring to activities (-*ada*), objects (-*dóra*, -*ón*), places/containers (-*àr*, -*aria*) and people (-*dór*, -*dóra*, -*ìn*, -*ina*, -*ón*);
- b) various suffixes that refer to abstract nouns are attested: they usually occur in nouns that are probably Italian loanwords (*umidità*, It. *umidità* ‘humidity’, *altézza*, It. *altezza* ‘height’, *processión*, It. *processione* ‘procession’, *avarìzzia*, It. *avarizia* ‘greed’), although in some cases they also occur in nouns that have a different suffix in Italian (*fondézza*, It. *profondità* ‘depth’, *promissión*, It. *promessa* ‘promise’);
- c) some suffixes, in particular -*àr*, -*aria*, -*ada*, are polysemous;
- d) the morphological structure of derived nouns is relatively simple: no double derivation suffix has been attested.

2.3 Evaluative Morphology

In CT the augmentative suffix is -*ón*. The same suffix occurs with deverbal nouns (§ 2.2, ex. (10a–b)), denominal nouns (§ 2.2, ex. (22a–b)) and deadjectival nouns (§ 2.2, ex. (26)).¹⁷ As the examples show, the suffix -*ón* occurs with both

17 However, we distinguish the suffix -*ón* in this paragraph from the suffix -*ón* described in § 2.2. As a matter of fact, although connected to an augmentative interpretation, the suffix -*ón* in the examples given in § 2.2 always refers to a person, who is characterized by a specific quality suggested by a nominal, or verbal or adjectival root. This is not the case with the evaluative -*ón*, which we present in this section.

feminine and masculine nouns; the equivalent feminine *-óna* is less common. Moreover, augmented feminine nouns usually take the masculine gender:

- (27) *la féver* > *el feverón* 'high temperature/fever', *la fôrbes* > *el forbesón* 'big scissors', *la slèpa* > *el slepón* 'hard slap', *la maia* > *el maión* 'jumper', *la pataca* > *el patacón* 'big decoration'

The pejorative suffix is *-àc'*, more frequently *-àz*. It often suggests strength, referring to a negatively connoted person or object. The feminine form is *-àzza*:

- (28) *formentàc'* 'corn', *pedàc'* 'sediment', *tempàc'* 'bad weather', *urlàc'* 'strong cry', *ventàc'* 'strong wind', *afaràz* 'bad deal', *omenàz* 'big, strong man', *cade-nàz* 'heavy chain', *cortelàz* 'big knife', *donazza* 'bad woman'

Only one case is attested in which two different suffixes—the augmentative *ón* + the pejorative *-àc'*—co-occur:

- (29) *cantonàc'* 'loud and out-of-tune singing'¹⁸

Five suffixes are used in CT to express diminutive forms.¹⁹ They are *-èl*, *-èla* (examples in (30)), *-òt*, *-òta* (examples in (31)), *-àt*, *-ata* (examples in (32)), *-ét*/*-éto*, *-éta* (examples in (33)). Diminutives *-ìn*, *-ina* (34) are also attested:

- (30) *ašnèl* < *asen* 'little donkey', *bandèla* < *banda* 'thin metal sheet', *cordèla* < *còrda* 'thin rope', *zatèla* < *zata* 'little paw'
- (31) *afaròt* < *afâr* lit. 'small deal'; fig. 'little thing', *balòta* < *bala* 'small ball', *stalòt* < *stala* 'small stable', *casòt* < *casa* 'hut', *scopelòt* < *scopèla* 'little slap'
- (32) *busàta* < *busa* 'little hole', *orsàt* < *órs* 'little bear', *pezzàt* < *pèz* 'little bit'
- (33) *bafét* < *baf* 'person with a moustache', *popéta* < *pòpa* 'little girl', *cameréta* < *càmera* 'small room', *porét* < *pòr* 'poor man', *celét* < *cèl* 'bucket', *panét* < *pan* 'little piece of bread'

¹⁸ Aneggi (1984).

¹⁹ We find only one attestation of the diminutive suffix *-ùz*—*scanalùz* 'throat'.

- (34) *popìn* < *pòpo* 'little boy', *taolìn* < *taol* 'table', *codìn* < *cóa* 'little tail', *beretìna* > *beréta* 'little hat', *peadina* < *peada* 'little kick'

Two different diminutive suffixes can also occur together. Different combinations are attested: *-el+-ìn*, *-ol+-ìn*, *-ot+-ìn*, *-et+-ìn*, *-ar+-ìn*, *-ar+-èl*, *-el+-òt*:

- (35) *zestelìn* < *zésto* 'small basket', *gatolìn* < *gat* 'little cat', *panciarìn* < *pancia/panza* 'small bell', *stradarèl* < *strada* 'little road', *porzelòt* < *pòrch* 'young pig', *casotìn* < *casa* 'little house', *caretìn* < *car* 'small cart'

2.4 Nominal Derivational Prefixes

In CT most prefixed nouns are loanwords from Italian, such as those in (36a), which present the prefix *a-*:

- (36) a. *abocamént* < It. *abboccamento* 'first meeting', *acónt* < It. *acconto* 'account', *avocàt* < It. *avvocato* 'lawyer', *assensión* < It. *ascensione* 'ascent', *atestàt* < It. *attestato* 'certification'

Few examples, however, show the same prefix *a-* with roots that, in Italian, have either a different, or no, prefix (36b):

- b. *avantagio* < It. *vantaggio* 'advantage', *azzidènt* < It. *incidente* 'accident'

Only few prefixes, listed in Table 15, are found in originally dialectal words.²⁰ Further examples with the prefixes *con-*, *com-*, *co-* are:

- (37) *compare* < *pare* 'goodfather', *companadech* < *pan* 'sandwich filling', *comunión* < *unión* 'communion'

A few nouns presenting the prefix *des-* are antonyms of the same nouns without the prefix:

- (38) *desgrazzia* < *grazzia* 'adversity', *desobediènza* < *obediènza* 'disobedience', *despiazzér* < *piazzér* 'sorrow'

²⁰ For a comparison with verbal prefixes, see § 7.4.2.

TABLE 15 Nominal prefixes in CT

Prefix	Meaning	Example
<i>con-/co-</i> < CON-	union	<i>comare</i> ‘godmother’
<i>des-</i> < DIS-, DE+EX-	origin	<i>desmontegada</i> ‘return from the mountain pasture’
<i>en-, em-</i> < IN-	motion or change	<i>embotonada</i> ‘tangle’
<i>re-</i> < RE-	back direction	<i>rebaltón</i> ‘chaos’
<i>s-</i> < EX-, DIS-, DE+EX-	intensive	<i>slusór</i> ‘sparkle’

The prefixes *en-/em-* occur frequently in denominal or deverbal nouns ending with the suffixes *-ada* or *-ón*:

- (39) *embroidada* < *embroidàr* ‘tangle’, *embotida* < *embotir* ‘quilt’, *embriagón* < *embriagar* ‘drunk’, *enferiada* < *fèr* ‘iron grating’, *engropada* < *engropàr* ‘lump in the throat’, *ensolada* < *sól* ‘sunburn’, *envedriada* < *védro* ‘glass facade’

The prefix *re-* occurs in a certain number of nouns deriving from verbs prefixed with *re-* and suggests repetition or backward movement:

- (40) *rebalta* < *rebaltàr* ‘flap’, *refil* < *refilàr* ‘filing’, *remenada* < *remenàr* ‘blows’, *remissión* < *reméter* ‘remission’, *repezzada* < *repezzàr* ‘mend’, *retài* < *retaiàr* ‘cut out’, *revendaròle* < *rivènder* ‘women who sell fruit and vegetables’, *revoltìn* < *revoltàr* ‘hem’

The most frequent prefix in CT is *s-*, mainly used as an intensive morpheme for derived denominal and deverbal nouns (41a):²¹

- (41) a. *scagazzo* < *cagàr* ‘shit’, *scagnaria* < *cagn* ‘din’, *scaldana* < *calt* ‘warm’, *scarampana* < *carampana* ‘old biddy’, *scartabèl* < *carta* ‘booklet’, *scartoc* < *carta* ‘cone’, *scavezzón* < *cavézza* ‘head-collar’, *sfacendér* < *facènda* ‘middle man’, *sfadigada* < *fadiga* ‘effort’, *scornada* < *còrno* ‘failure, or a blow with horns’, *sfiamada* < *fiamà* ‘blaze’, *sflagèl* < *flagèl* ‘plague’, *sfregón* < *fregàr* ‘line’, *slavàz* < *lavàr* ‘heavy shower’

21 The same prefix *s-* is also frequent with verbs; see § 7.4.2.

TABLE 16 Prefixoids for nouns in CT

Prefixoid	Meaning	Example
<i>contr-</i> < CONTRA	opposition to N	<i>contradòt</i> ‘dowry brought by a widower to his new bride’
<i>sora-</i> < SUPRA	location over/above N	<i>soravia</i> ‘excess’
<i>sot-</i> < SUBTUS	location under/below N	<i>sotopónt</i> ‘internal seam’
<i>stra-</i> < EXTRA	location outside N or fig. extraordinary	<i>stracùl</i> ‘the most tender part of a veal calf’s thigh’

However, some nouns beginning with a consonant present the prefix *s-* with no apparent change of meaning (41b):

- b. *scanalùz* < *canalùz* ‘throat’, *scaorós* < *caorós* ‘redstart’, *scufia* < *cufia* ‘bonnet’, *schiribiz* < *ghiribiz* ‘oddity’, *sføi* < *føi* ‘piece of paper’, *sfionda* < *fiónda* ‘sling’, *sforzèl* < *forzèl* ‘pheasant’

CT also presents a certain number of prefixoids, i.e. prepositions with a precise lexical meaning referring to a location in space or to a figurative position, which act as prefixes. The prefixoids attested in CT are listed in Table 16.

Other examples of nouns presenting these prefixoids are provided in (42 a–d):

- (42) a. *contrabando* < *bando* ‘contraband’, *contrabàs* < *bàs* ‘double bass’
b. *sorafil* < *fil* ‘seam’, *soranòm* < *nòm* ‘nick name’, *soraòs* < *òs* ‘callus’, *sorapónt* < *pónt* ‘seam’
c. *sotopè* < *pè* ‘insole’, *sotoscrit* < *scrit* ‘undersigned’, *sotovèsta* < *vèsta* ‘pettycoat’
d. *strafàm* < *fam* ‘starvation’, *stracùl* < *cul* ‘thigh’, *straordenari* < *ordenari* ‘extra-ordinary work’, *strapassin* < *passàr* ‘bolt’, *stravènt* < *vènt* ‘gust of wind’

2.5 Compound and Phrasal Nouns

Several combinations occur in CT nominal compounds. One of the most common types is formed by a transitive verb in a form corresponding to that of a verbal theme, followed by a noun, which is its object (43):

- (43) *cavadènti* < *cava* 'take away' + *dènti* 'teeth' 'dentist', *cavaòci* < *cava* 'take away' + *òci* 'eyes' 'dragonfly', *cavasuri* < *cava* 'take away' + *suri* 'corks' 'cork-screw', *pasamàn* < *pasa* 'pass' + *man* 'hand' 'handrail' or 'ribbon', *stràngolaprèti* < *stràngola* 'strangle' + *prèti* 'priests' 'kind of gnocchi', *sugamàn* < *suga* 'dry' + *man* 'hand' 'hand towel', *scondilèver* < *scóndi* 'hide' + *léver* 'hare' 'hide and seek', *slargalòche* < *slarga* 'enlarge' + *lòche* 'puddles' 'person who tends to exaggerate', *scorlapéri* < *scórla* 'beat' + *péri* 'pears' 'silly and unstable person', *feracavài* < *fèra* 'shoe an animal' + *cavai* 'horses' 'blacksmith', *stracadènti* < *straca* 'tire' + *dènti* 'teeth' 'hard biscuits', *portauce* < *pòrta* 'hold' + *uce* 'needles' 'needle-holder', *baticòr* < *bati* 'beat' + *còr* 'heart' 'pounding heart'

Nominal compounds formed by an adjective followed by a noun (44a) or by a noun followed by an adjective (44b) are quite frequent, in particular with the adjectives *mal/mala* 'bad', *bòn/bòna* (good). The adjective always agrees with the noun:

- (44) a. *malaparada* < *mala* 'bad' + *parada* 'situation' 'difficult situation', *brut mal* < *brut* 'bad' + *mal* 'sickness' 'epilepsy', *malagràzia* < *mala* 'bad' + *gràzia* 'grace' 'impoliteness', *bonamàn* < *bòna* 'good' + *man* 'hand' 'tip', *bonodór* < *bòn* 'good' + *odór* 'smell' 'fragrance', *bontèmp* < *bòn* 'good' + *tèmp* 'time' 'good times', *porànima* < *pòr* 'poor' + *ànima* 'soul' 'poor man/woman/boy/girl', *pòr laór* < *pòr* 'poor' + *laór* 'work' 'poor man/woman/boy/girl'
- b. *maria òrba* < *Maria* + *òrba* 'blind' 'blind person', *basini amàri* < *basini* 'little kisses' + *amari* 'bitter' 'amaretti', *gili mati* < *gili* 'lilies' + *mati* 'mad' 'crocus', *èrba zalda* < *èrba* 'grass' + *zalda* 'yellow' 'osyris, a kind of grass', *èrba mòra* < *èrba* 'grass' + *mòra* 'brown' 'black nightshade, a kind of grass', *carne grevada* < *carne* 'flesh' + *grevada* 'heavy' 'cramps', *car grant* < *car* 'cart' + *grant* 'big' 'Big Dipper', *car picìol* < *car* 'cart' + *picìol* 'little' 'Little Dipper', *carta sugante* < *carta* 'paper' + *sugante* 'drying' 'blotting paper', *castagne mate* < *castagne* 'chestnuts' + *mate* 'mad' 'horse chestnuts', *mónt sant* < *mónt* 'mount' + *sant* 'saint' 'Holy Mount', *tóss caina* < *tóss* 'cough' + *caina* 'canine' 'whooping cough', *aqua santa* < *aqua* 'water' + *santa* 'saint' 'holy water'.

Nominal compounds composed of two juxtaposed nouns are also attested in CT, although they are less frequent than in Italian.²² As a matter of fact, many

22 Some CT N+N compounds are loanwords from Italian (such as *taramòt* or *teremòt* 'earth-

Italian N+N compounds require, in CT, a preposition between the two nouns (see examples (46) and (47)), or are expressed by a non-compound noun: for instance, the Italian compound *ferrovia* in CT becomes *ferata* (< *via ferata*). When a N+N compound occurs in CT, its head (*determinatum*) is always on the left, as the examples in (45a) show:

- (45) a. *capostazzión* < *capo* 'master' + *stazzión* 'station' 'station master', *capo-comùn* < *capo* 'master' + *comùn* 'municipality' 'mayor',²³ *èrba spagna* < *èrba* 'grass' + *spagna* 'Spain' 'kind of medical grass', *èrba striga* < *èrba* 'grass' + *striga* 'witch' 'snapdragon', *èrba trinità* < *èrba* 'grass' + *trinità* 'trinity' 'anemone', *bissabòla* < *bissa* 'snake' + *bòla* 'boa' 'zigzag'

Interestingly, some nominal compounds in CT are loanwords from the Tyrolean dialect. Their form has always been phonologically adapted to the Romance dialect, and one of the two nouns may occur in the Romance dialectal form. The structure of the compound, however, generally maintains the typical German order of compounds (but the accent moves to the right side of the compound), showing the head (*determinatum*) on the right-hand side of the word (45b):

- b. *prossàch* < Tyr. *Brout* + *sach* lit. 'bread pack' 'backpack', *aisenpóner* < Tyr. *àisenbohner* 'railway workers', *crošnòbol* < Tyr. *Kraizschnobl* 'cross-bill', *slambròt* 'mixed, ugly idiom, which is difficult to understand'²⁴

As examples (41–43) show, nominal compounds formed by combining two words (N+N, V+N, A+N, N+A) are quite frequent in CT. However, the most common combination of words into a single lexical unit in this dialect uses the prepositions *de* and *da*, thus creating phrasal nouns.²⁵ The head (*determinatum*)

quake'). Some other loanwords from Italian present the combination semi-word + semi-word or semi-word + word (*televisión* 'television', *fotografia* 'picture').

23 This compound is a calque modelled on the German *Bürgermeister*.

24 Two etymologies have been proposed for this compound. The oldest one derives this word from Tyr. *Schlamm* 'mud' + *Brot* 'bread' 'dirty bread' (see Coletti, Cordin & Zamboni 1995). A more recent hypothesis—proposed by Alessandro Parenti (personal communication)—derives the compound from Germ. *Land* 'region' + (*ge*)*sprocht* (variant of *gesprochen*) 'spoken' 'regional idiom'.

25 Only a few prepositional compounds of the form 'N a N' and 'N en N' are attested, such as *ganci a rebaltìn* lit. 'hooks at rivet' 'rivet hooks for shoes', *fóto a colóri* 'colour photo', *camisa a quadri* 'checked shirt', *caga 'n braghe* lit. 'shit in pants', fig. 'frightening person'.

always precedes the PP (*determinans*). The preposition *de* is more frequent than *da*:²⁶ it occurs either with a definite article (46a) or without one (46b):²⁷

- (46) a. *sòcio dela bira* < *sòcio* 'partner' + *bira* 'beer' 'buddy-buddy', *sòcio del trivelin* < *sòcio* 'partner' + *trivelin* 'little drill' 'buddy-buddy', *botón dela gudazza* < *botón* 'button' + *gudazza* 'godmother' 'belly button', *busa dela grassa* < *busa* 'hole' + *grassa* 'manure' 'manure pit', *cervelét del dé* < *cervelét* 'little brain' + *dé* 'finger' 'fingertip', *èrba dei piòci* < *èrba* 'grass' + *piòci* 'lice' 'sort of grass', *còl del pè* < *còl* 'hill' + *pè* 'foot' 'ankle', *téla del lat* < *téla* 'canvas' + *lat* 'milk' 'cream', *dènti de la fôrca* < *dènti* 'teeth' + *fôrca* 'hayfork' 'prongs'
- b. *pèl de galina* < *pèl* 'skin' + *galina* 'chicken' 'gooseflesh', *ciate de galina* < *ciate* 'paws' + *galina* 'chicken' 'wrinkles around the eyes', *ciate de órs* < *ciate* 'paws' + *órs* 'bear' 'type of mushroom', *bale de néu* < *bale* 'balls' + *néu* 'snow' 'snow balls', *fiór de fich* < *fiór* 'flower' + *fich* 'fig' 'fig flower', *frate de zérca* < *frate* 'brother' + *zérca* 'begging' 'begging brother', *ciara de öo* < *ciara* 'white' + *öö* 'egg' 'egg white', *dènti de cagn* < *dènti* 'teeth' + *cagn* 'dog' 'dandelion'

The preposition *da* followed by the article (47a) and without the article (47b) occurs frequently in this type of phrasal noun.²⁸ It expresses a distinctive characteristic, or specialisation, or purpose, of the preceding noun. Moreover, *da* + N can function as an adjective. In most of these cases Italian would use the preposition *di* or *per*.²⁹

- (47) a. *èrba dai pòri* < *èrba* 'grass' + *pòri* 'leeks' 'celandine', *èrba da la zopina* < *èrba* 'grass' + *zopina* 'little clump' 'thyme', *arche dal gran* < *arche* 'compartments' + *gran* 'wheat' 'compartments for storing wheat', *aròm dal pan* < *aròm* 'room' + *pan* 'bread' 'bread rack', *bavi dal lum* < *bavi* 'insects' + *lum* 'light' 'fireflies', *caselìn dal lat* < *caselìn* 'little parking place' + *lat* 'milk' 'little milk parking place', *fióri dala Madòna* < *fióri* 'flowers' + *Madòna* 'our Lady' 'cornflowers'

²⁶ See § 5.2.3.

²⁷ When no article occurs, the noun in the PP is neither identified nor classified. When the definite article occurs, the noun in the PP refers to a very broad and general class. Therefore, the interpretation of nouns occurring after 'preposition + article' in these compounds and that of nouns occurring after a preposition with no article are very close with respect to the determinateness of the noun in the PP. Cf. § 4.1.

²⁸ See § 5.2.3.

²⁹ See § 5.2.3.

- b. *carta da pachi* < *carta* 'paper' + *pachi* 'packs' 'packing paper', *èrba da gat* < *èrba* 'grass' + *gat* 'cat' 'valerian', *èrba da òm* < *èrba* 'grass' + *òm* 'man' 'sort of grass', *balini da s-ciòp* < *balini* 'little balls' + *s-ciòp* 'rifle' 'pellets'

Da is the only preposition that can be inserted between a noun and a verb in the infinitive; in these cases, the preposition expresses a purpose (N that is used to do something), or has the same function as an *-able* suffix, which never occurs in CT.³⁰

- c. *légna da arder* 'wood for burning', *aqua da béver* 'drinking water', *scagn da mónge* 'milking stool', *gate da pelàr* lit. 'cats to skin', fig. 'difficult tasks'

Finally, CT contains some lexical units formed by the conjunction of two nouns, as illustrated by the following examples:

- (48) *cul e camisa* lit. 'ass and shirt', fig. 'strong friendship', *bina e molinèl* lit. 'couple and reel', 'nine men's morris', *còsi e tasi* lit. 'sew and be quiet', fig. 'dissembler', *mèrda e mél* lit. 'shit and honey', fig. 'resentment', *pan e vin* lit. 'bread and wine', 'wood sorrel'

³⁰ See § 5.2.3.

Noun Phrases: Nouns with Determiners and Adjectives

In this chapter the various determiners and adjectives found in noun phrase structures are examined. The first section describes the forms and occurrences of the determiners. The CT use of definite determiners is similar to that of Italian; one important difference is the obligatory co-occurrence of a definite article with proper names in CT (§ 3.1.1). CT indefinite determiners are realized in the singular (§ 3.1.2). Partitive articles present a null form, and a *de* + article form, but in some contexts they can also occur as definite articles. In § 3.1.3 the appropriate contexts for the three forms are presented.

The second section of the chapter examines the binary demonstrative system of CT: in § 3.2.1 reduced (*sto* N ‘this N’, *quel* N ‘that N’) and composed forms (*sto* N *chi* ‘this N here’, *quel* N *lì* ‘that N there’) for distal and proximal demonstratives are illustrated; in particular, in § 3.2.2 the co-occurrence of demonstratives and deictic adverbs is discussed.

The third section deals with CT possessive adjectives. § 3.3.1 illustrates their forms and possible orders in relation to the noun they are qualifying. § 3.3.2 describes their co-occurrence with determiners (*la me bici* ‘the my bike’ ‘my bike’), genitives (*el so fradèl del Paolo* ‘the his brother of the Paolo’ ‘Paolo’s brother’), and quantifiers (*tanti me amizzi* ‘many my friends’ ‘many of my friends’).

The fourth section covers quantified NPs, i.e. those which contain an expression with the particular property of non-unique reference. In § 3.4.1 quantified NPs are divided into four syntactic types: universals, numerals, negatives, and indefinites; each group presents a different co-occurrence of quantifiers, determiners and nouns. Each of these types is considered separately, in paragraphs 3.4.2–3.4.5. § 3.4.2 deals with the universal quantified NPs *tut* + N ‘all + N’, *tutidói* + N ‘both + N’, *ogni* + N ‘each + N’, and *ciascùn* + N ‘each + N’; § 3.4.3 covers numerals + N; § 3.4.4 presents negative *nissùn/nissuni* + N ‘no + N’ and *neanca/gnanca un* + N ‘not even one + N’ and, finally, § 3.4.5 illustrates indefinite quantified NPs, such as *tant/a/i/e* ‘much’, ‘a lot of’, ‘many’, *pòch/pòca/pòchi/pòche* ‘a little of’ ‘little’ ‘few’, *arquanti* ‘several’, *qualche* ‘some’, *massa* ‘too much, too many’, *en zèrto* N, *en tal* N ‘a certain N’. This section ends with some phrases often used in CT instead of a quantifier to specify either large or restricted quantities.

The interrogative *wh*- preceding a noun (*che, qual, quant*) is illustrated in § 3.5.1, the exclamative in § 3.5.2.

The last section of the chapter deals with adjectives that modify nouns. § 3.6.1 describes their position in the NP (usually post-nominal, although some prenominal adjectives are allowed when they are speaker-oriented). The flec-tional and derivational morphology of CT adjectives is presented in § 3.6.2 and § 3.6.3 respectively. § 3.6.4 describes the adjectival use of past participles and § 3.6.5 provides some examples of phrases formed by *de* or (more frequently) *da* + N, often used in CT instead of adjectives.

3.1 Definite and Indefinite Determiners

In CT definite and indefinite determiners occur in complementary distribu-tion with other prenominal elements, such as demonstrative adjectives (see § 3.2), interrogative and exclamative *wh*-elements (§§ 3.5), and most quantifi-ers (§ 3.4). Definite and indefinite determiners can co-occur with possessives (see § 3.3) and with qualitative adjectives (see § 3.6).

3.1.1 *Definite Determiners*

Definite CT determiners are *el, l, la, i, le*, as illustrated in Table 17.

The choice between *el/l* and *la/l* depends on the first phoneme of the word following the article, *l* always occurs before a vowel. The masculine singular art-icle also takes the *l* form after the prepositions *a* ‘to’, ‘at’, *da* ‘from’, ‘by’, *de* ‘of’, *su* ‘on’, *n* (the reduced form of *en* ‘in’; the resulting form is *nel*) and *co* (the reduced form of *con* ‘with’).

When a noun refers to something—or someone—the identity of which has already been established (either by previous mention, or the communicative situation, or within a shared mental encyclopedia), a definite determiner pre-cedes it. It occurs frequently before the direct objects of transitive verbs, in collocations in which a strong semantic (in some cases figurative) connection binds the verb and the object:

- (1) *gavér la luna* lit. ‘to have the moon’, ‘to be in a bad mood’, *no véder l’óra* lit. ‘not to see the time’, ‘to look forward to’, *pèrder la vózze* lit. ‘to lose the voice’, ‘to lose one’s voice’, *béver el cafè* ‘to drink the coffee’, ‘to drink coffee’, *taìr la légna* ‘to cut the wood’, ‘to chop wood’, *netàr la casa* ‘to clean the house’, *ciapàr el sól* lit. ‘to take the sun’, *dir su le orazzióni* lit. ‘to say up the prayers’, ‘to pray’, *giustàr la màchina* lit. ‘to fix the car’, *spetàr el trèno* ‘to wait for the train’, *far su el lèt* lit. ‘to make up the bed’, *scoltàr la radio* ‘to listen to the radio’, *sonàr el piano* ‘to play the piano’

TABLE 17 The definite determiners in CT

	Masculine	Feminine
singular	<i>el/l</i>	<i>la/l</i>
plural	<i>i</i>	<i>le</i>

In some of the examples given in (1) the interpretation of the object is not definite. For instance, in the example *béver el cafè* the object is interpreted as ‘some coffee’ and the noun phrase has a kind reading, or it is interpreted as the content of an indefinite container (*na tazza de cafè* ‘a cup of coffee’).

In CT dialect, both feminine and masculine proper personal names—whether subject or object—are preceded by the definite article.¹ The definite article can precede proper feminine names in colloquial Italian too, but this co-occurrence is much more restricted than in some dialects.² The extensive CT use of the definite article with proper nouns is illustrated in examples (2a–i):³

- (2) a. *Ghe l'ò presentà al Giorgio.*
him.DAT.CL him.CL-I.have introduced to-the Giorgio
‘I introduced him to Giorgio.’
- b. *Stamatina ò encontrà el Giani.*
this.morning I.have met the Giani
‘This morning I met Giani.’
- c. *El Mario el m'a vista en piazza.* (Montesover, ASIt 1–3)
the Mario he.CL me.CL-has seen in square
‘Giorgio saw me in the square.’

1 CT seems to behave like a strong D language, in which the definite article functions as a filler of D, when D acts as a reference operator (Longobardi 2005).

2 Serianni (1989: 169) notices that in Italian feminine nouns can only be preceded by a definite article when they are used in a familiar-affective register. The article in Italian thus never occurs with proper names in literary and historical works. Moreover, in Italian the article never precedes masculine names (other than in some Northern regional Italian varieties).

3 An inquiry recently carried out in Trento revealed similar results in the regional Italian variety used in the city (Orler 2016–2017: 146–150). Significantly, more definite articles precede both feminine and masculine personal proper names in the Italian spoken in Trento than in that spoken in other Northern cities.

- d. *La casa del Giani l'è la pu bèla del*
 the house of-the Gianni she.CL-is the more beautiful of-the
paés.
 village
 'Gianni's house is the nicest in the village.'
- e. *At vist el Giani?*
 have=you. CL seen the Gianni
 'Have you seen Gianni?'
- f. *La Maria la va via domàn.*
 the Maria she.CL goes away tomorrow
 'Maria will leave tomorrow.'
- g. *Sto ch' l'è el libro de la Maria.*
 this here it.CL-is the book of the Maria
 'This is Maria's book.'
- h. *I fíori i ghe pias propri tant ala Maria.*
 the flowers they.CL her.DAT.CL please really a.lot to-the Maria
 'Maria likes flowers a lot.'
- i. *No són na fòra con la Maria, ma col Piero.*
 not I.am gone out with the Maria but with-the Piero
 'I went out with Piero, not with Maria.'

When a personal name or a surname refers to a literary character or a historical figure, no determiner is used in CT (3a–b), except with well-known surnames ((3c):

- (3) a. *Ulisse l'era en grand'òm.*
 Ulysses he.CL-was a great-man
 'Ulysses was a great man.'
- b. *Ò lezù tut el libro de Lévi.*
 I.have read all the book of Levi
 'I have read all of Levi's book.'
- c. *St'an avén studià el Manzoni.*
 this-year we.have studied the Manzoni
 'This year we studied Manzoni.'

When a personal first name occurs with a surname, no definite article is used (see (4a)), unless the designated person is familiar to the addressee (see (4b)):

- (4) a. *Ghò presentà Maria Bovi.*
 him/her.DAT.CL-I.have introduced Maria Bovi
 'I introduced Maria Bovi to him/her.'
- b. *La Maria Bovi, che avén conossù a scòla, la è nada a*
 the Maria Bovi that we.have met at school she.CL is gone to
viver a Bolzàn.
 live at Bolzano
 'Maria Bovi, whom we met at school, has moved to Bolzano.'

Analogously, when someone is referred to by their surname, no article occurs, as in (5a), unless the referent is familiar, as in (5b):

- (5) a. *El nòvo diretór el se ciama Bovi.*
 the new manager he.CL se calls Bovi
 'The new director's name is Bovi.'
- b. *El Bovi el s'è trasferì a Bolzàn.*
 the Bovi he.CL se-is moved to Bolzano
 'Bovi has moved to Bolzano.'

The use of definite determiners with geographical proper names is variable: they do not occur before the names of cities (6a), but are required before the names of countries and regions (6b), rivers (6c), and mountains (6d). The article agrees in gender with the noun, which is feminine if the ending vowel is -a, otherwise it is masculine:

- (6) a. *Parigi, Trènto, Róma*
 b. *la Svizzera, l'Àfrica, el Portogàl*
 c. *l'Ades, la Brènta, el Pò*
 d. *el Cervino, el Bondón*

Definite determiners that precede uncountable and plural nouns can receive a generic interpretation, as in (7a–c). In the examples given definite determiners alternate with null determiners.⁴

⁴ Note that the examples (7), if they were realized by *de*+article, would have a different mean-

- (7) a. *Vago a tòr (el) vin en càneva.* (Viarago, AIS 333, carta 1343)
 I.go to get the wine in cellar
 'I am going to the cellar to get some wine.'
- b. *Ala fontana no gh'era pu*
 at-the fountain not there-was more
(l')aqua. (Viarago, AIS 333, carta 1037)
 the-water
 'There was no more water at the fountain.'
- c. *Ò tirà su (le) patate.*
 I.have picked up the potatoes
 'I dug (the) potatoes.'

Unlike Italian, CT never admits NPs formed by a definite article followed by an infinitive. Italian sentences such as (8a) and (8c), which belong to a formal register, are impossible in CT, where they are realized as (8b) and (8d):

- (8) a. *Ho sentito l'abbaiare di un cane* (Italian)
 I.have heard the-barking of a dog
 'I heard a dog barking.'
- b. *Ò sentì che en cagn el sbaiéva.* (CT)
 I.have heard that a dog he.CL barked
 'I heard a dog barking.'
- c. *L'affannarsi di Piero è inutile.* (Italian)
 the-bustling of Piero is useless
 'Piero's bustling is useless.'
- d. *L'è inùtile che el Piero el se daga sì da far.*
 it.CL-is useless that the Piero he.CL se gives.SBJV so to do
 'Piero's bustling is not useful.'

ing (see § 3.1.3). Renzi (1997b) suggests a non-partitive interpretation of the definite article in similar examples, contradicting Rohlfs (1968: §§ 423–426). In fact, a definite article before an uncountable noun is preferred in those contexts that suggest a habitual use of the substance to which the noun refers (*bévo sèmpe el cafè dopo disnà* 'I always drink coffee after lunch').

TABLE 18 The indefinite determiners in CT

	Masculine	Feminine
singular	<i>en/n</i>	<i>na/n</i>
plural	Ø	Ø

3.1.2 *Indefinite Determiners*

Indefinite determiners only occur in the singular of countable nouns,⁵ in the forms shown below in Table 18.

Notice that CT indefinite determiners are homophonous to numeral adjectives and non-homophonous to the numeral pronouns *uno/una*.

In CT, an indefinite determiner is used to introduce a new referent in the discourse, as in (9a), or to refer to something/someone not specifically identified, as in (9b):

- (9) a. *Gh'èra na vòlta en ré e na regina. El ré l'abitéva*
 there-was a time a king and a queen the king he.CL-lived
 en te na tóre.
 in a tower
 'Once upon a time there was a king and a queen. The king lived in a
 tower.'
- b. *Ò comprà en bèl maz de fióri.*
 I.have bought a nice bunch of flowers
 'I have bought a nice bunch of flowers.'

Indefinite articles are also frequent in predicative constructions, after the verb *èsser* 'to be':

- (10) *L'èra en mèdico.*
 he.CL-was a doctor
 'He was a doctor.'

5 In CT, uncountable nouns do not admit the indefinite article, unless they are used to indicate a specific sub-type (It. *un vino buono*, CT *en bòn vin* 'a good wine'), or intense sensations and emotions (see examples 11).

They are also used before direct objects in exclamative sentences that express intense sensations or emotions, as in (11a–b):

- (11) a. *Gò na fam ...!*
 I.have a hunger
 'I am so hungry!'
- b. *El m'a fat ciapàr na paùra ...!*
 he.CL me.CL-has made take a scare
 'He scared me so much!'

Analogously, they are used to convey feelings and judgements—in this case only negatively connotated—in exclamative constructions formed by the sequence “adj. + *de* + indef. art. + noun”, as in (12 a–b):

- (12) a. *Mat d'en pòpo!*
 crazy of-a child
 'Crazy child!'
- b. *Stùpida de na putèla!*
 stupid of a girl
 'Stupid girl!'

Null indefinite determiners are occasionally read as definite. The definite interpretation of a bare NP is possible when two definite nouns are coordinated, as illustrated in (13 a–b). In proverbs, plural bare nouns often receive a definite (universal) interpretation (13c):

- (13) a. *Fradèl e sorèla i àbita ensèma.*
 brother and sister they.CL live together
 'Brother and sister live together.'
- b. *Pòpi e pòpe i va ente la stéssa classe.*
 boys and girls they.CL go in the same class
 'Boys and girls go to the same classroom.'
- c. *Dòne e bòi dei paési tòi. (proverb)*
 women and oxen of-the countries your
 'Your women and cattle should be from your country.'

3.1.3 *Partitive Articles*

In CT partitive articles are formed by the preposition *de* followed by a definite determiner. Partitives are used to indicate indeterminate partial quantities of uncountable (14) and plural nouns (15):⁶

- (14) a. *Ò comprà del pan.*
I.have bought of-the bread
'I bought some bread.'
- b. *Ò comprà pan.*
I.have bought bread
'I bought some bread.'⁷
- (15) a. *Ò comprà dele patate.*
I.have bought of-the potatoes
'I bought some potatoes.'
- b. *Ò comprà patate.*
I.have bought potatoes
'I bought some potatoes.'

In CT, uncountable (14b) and plural nouns (15b) can occur without any article. Following Renzi (1997b), who deals with partitives in Italian, when the noun is preceded by a partitive article, it receives a specific interpretation, meaning literally 'a little bit of bread'; when the noun has no article, it expresses a non-specific value.⁸

Note that bare plural and mass nouns present a subject-object asymmetry. In CT, as in Italian, a bare noun subject can never occur (16a–c):

- (16) a. **Pan l'è vanzà per la zéna.*
bread it.CL-is remained for the dinner
'Some bread has remained for dinner.'

6 Some countable nouns (such as *pólo* 'chicken', *lugànega* 'sausage') behave as uncountable nouns when they refer to a substance (meat), rather than a particular entity.

7 More examples with a null determiner are found in Viarago (AIS locality n. 333); see map 637 *a zercar viole* 'to collect violets', and examples (7) in this section.

8 For the alternation between null and definite determiners with non-specific interpretation, see also examples (7a–c) in this chapter.

b. **Zènt l'èra za nada via.*
 people she.CL-was already gone away
 'Some people had already left.'

c. **Ladri i è scampadi.*
 thieves they.CL are run.away
 'Some of the thieves ran away.'

The same examples are grammatical when a quantifier precedes the noun. Pre-verbal uncountable and indefinite plural nouns can be preceded by *en pòch de* 'a little of' (17a), or the partitive form '*de + art*' (17b), or the quantifier *qualchedùn de* 'someone of' (17c):⁹

(17) a. *En pòch de pan l'è vanzà per i canéderli.*
 a few of bread he.CL-is remained for the dumplings
 'Some bread has remained for the dumplings.'

b. *Dela zènt l'èra za nada via.*
 of-the people she.CL-was already gone away
 'Some people had already left.'

c. *Qualchedùn dei ladri l'è scampà.*
 someone of-the thieves he.CL-is run.away
 'Some thief has run away.'

Cardinaletti and Giusti (2018) consider partitive determiners to be a sub-group of indefinite articles and demonstrate that more than one form of partitive determiner is available for the same sentence in most Italian dialects. Following their proposal (2018: 141), Table 19 illustrates the possible forms of CT indefinite/partitive determiners.¹⁰

The table shows that in CT an indefinite interpretation of the NP can be expressed by a bare determiner ($\emptyset + \emptyset$), a definite determiner ($\emptyset + \text{def. art.}$) or a '*de + definite*' determiner.¹¹ The only impossible form is '*de + null determiner*' ($\text{de} + \emptyset$).¹²

⁹ See also § 3.4.4.

¹⁰ Quantifiers and pseudo-partitive constructions such as *en pòch de* are not considered in the table.

¹¹ However, all AIS examples registered in Viarago (locality n. 333) present a null determiner; see examples (7) in this section.

¹² The partitive form '*di + null determiner*', similar to French '*de + null determiner*', is attested in Tuscany and in Piemonte (Cardinaletti & Giusti 2018: 138).

TABLE 19 CT combinations of *de* and definite article
for partitive determiners

de	Def. art	Mass noun / plural noun
Ø	Ø	<i>fén</i> ‘hay’; <i>ròse</i> ‘roses’
Ø	<i>el, la, i, le</i>	<i>el fén</i> ‘the hay’; <i>le ròse</i> ‘the roses’
<i>de</i>	<i>el, la, i, le</i>	<i>del fén</i> ‘of the hay’; <i>dele ròse</i> ‘of the roses’
<i>de</i>	Ø	* <i>de fén</i> ‘of hay’; * <i>de ròse</i> ‘of roses’

The three grammatical forms given in Table 19 are not equivalent: sentences containing objects with null determiners and determiners preceded by *de* cannot receive a telic interpretation, while sentences containing objects with the definite article can receive this interpretation. This is confirmed by the fact that only a definite article + N (18a vs. 18b–c) can occur in a sentence that contains a PP expressing temporal punctuality, such as “in x time” (Cardinaletti & Giusti 2018, 143):

- (18) a. *Ò taià el fén en pòchi minuti.*
 I.have cut the hay in few minutes
 ‘I cut some hay in a few minutes.’
- b. **Ò taià fén en pòchi minuti.*
 I.have cut hay in few minutes
- c. **Ò taià del fén en pòchi minuti.*
 I.have cut of-the hay in few minutes
 ‘I cut some hay in a few minutes.’

It seems that the partitive forms specialize for different semantic nuances: the null determiner expresses a core notion of indefiniteness; the definite determiner is most commonly used with “typical nouns”, a specific, countable portion of which can easily be pictured; the ‘*de* + article’ determiner is almost always used to describe small quantities (Cardinaletti & Giusti 2018: 152).

3.2 Demonstrative Adjectives and Pronouns

3.2.1 General Properties

CT, like many other Italian dialects and regional varieties, has a binary demonstrative system,¹³ which distinguishes proximal and non-proximal referents in relation to a deictic centre (*origo*), represented by the speaker's location at the moment of their utterance. CT expresses demonstratives using the proximal forms *sto/quésto* 'this' and the distal forms *quél/quélo* 'that'. In CT, demonstrative adjectives are often used in co-occurrence with a deictic adverb (*chì/qua* 'here', *lì/là* 'there').¹⁴ The co-occurrence of the adverb is obligatory for pronominal reduced forms (*sto-chì, sto-qua; quel-lì, quel-là*). Whether the adverb ends in *-i* (*chì, lì*) or *-a* (*qua, là*) seems to be at the speaker's discretion.¹⁵

CT demonstratives are in complementary distribution with determiners and occur at the beginning of the Determiner Phrase, like in Italian, as Tables 20 and 21 show. CT demonstratives, however, display two properties, which clearly distinguish them from Italian demonstratives: **a**) the systematic use of a reduced clitic form *sto* for proximal adjectives (19a–b); since the forms *sto* and *quel* function only as determiners, they are phonologically dependent and cannot appear as free pronouns; **b**) the high frequency of composed forms of proximal and distal pronouns (19c–d) and adnominal demonstratives (19e):¹⁶

(19) a. *sto frate, sta bórsa, sti libri*
'this friar', 'this bag', 'these books'

b. *El Cardenio l'ha sentì ste parole.* (Castelli 2015)
the Cardenio he.CL-has heard these words
'Cardenio heard these words.'

13 Ledgeway (in press).

14 See Brugè (1996), Prandi (2015) and Irsara (2015).

15 However, when these adverbs occur with a verb, a different interpretation distinguishes the forms in *-a* and the forms in *-i*: the former refer to a generic position, the latter to a precise position. This is confirmed by the co-occurrence of the forms in *-i* with *pròpri* 'just', whereas the forms in *-a* are less common (see § 6.1.2). Forms in *-i*, however, cannot occur in phrases—such as *de qua, de là*—in which the deictic adverb is preceded by the preposition *de*, referring to a non-punctual position (**de chì, *de lì*).

16 The two properties might be correlated, since a systematic use of reduced demonstrative forms may account for the frequent use of particles (adverbs) that reinforce the deictic forms.

TABLE 20 Proximal demonstratives

	Adnominal (clitic) demonstratives	Pronominal (stressed) demonstratives
reduced forms ^a	<i>sto</i> N	//
simple forms	//	<i>quésto</i> ^b
composed forms ^c	<i>sto</i> N <i>chì/qua</i>	<i>sto</i> <i>chì/quésto</i> <i>chì</i> / <i>sto</i> <i>qua/quésto</i> <i>qua</i>

- a See Rohlfs (1968: § 493).
- b Very rarely attested.
- c According to Grassi (2009), the dialect of Montagne (Western Trentino) occasionally presents the composition *sto* + *lì*, *col* + *chì*, revealing that it is possible to find a deictic form expressing proximity followed by an adverb expressing distance, and vice versa. Although these combinations are restricted to one particular area, their presence suggests an on-going process of transformation: the forms *sto*, *col* are beginning to be used to signal deixis in a loose, general way, while information about the speaker's distance from the referent is expressed by the adverb.

TABLE 21 Distal demonstratives

	Adnominal (clitic) demonstratives	Pronominal (stressed) demonstratives
reduced forms	//	//
simple forms	<i>quel</i> N	<i>quélo</i> ^a
composed forms	<i>quel</i> N <i>lì/là</i>	<i>quel</i> <i>lì/là</i>

- a Very rarely attested.
- c. *sto qua*
‘this one here’ (Aneggi 1984)
- d. *No saveria propri dirve che razza de zent sia*
not I.would.know really tell-you what race of people is.SBJV
sta chì. (Castelli 2015)
this here
‘I really cannot tell you what kind of people are these.’
- e. *ste zirése chì; quéle usanze lì*
‘these cherries here’; ‘those customs there’

3.2.2 *Co-occurrence of Demonstratives and Deictic Adverbs*

According to Guardiano (2012), demonstratives are complex lexical items made up of two components: definiteness and location. As examples (19d–e) show, in CT the two components can occur in separate positions. The first component must be expressed with a proximal pronominal reduced demonstrative.

However, the composed forms cannot have a linguistic referent and so when the deixis concerns the text and not the situation, the demonstrative never has a co-occurring locative adverb (20a) vs. (20b):

- (20) a. *L'avéva encontrà el fiòl del Mario. Sto pòpo ...*
 he.CL-had met the son of-the Mario this child
 'He had met Mario's son. This boy ...'
- b. *L'avéva encontrà el fiòl del Mario. *Sto pòpo chì ...*
 he.CL-had met the son of-the Mario this child here

Nor can composed forms be used when the noun is specified by a restrictive relative clause (21):

- (21) *L'è un de quei mali (*chì) che noi done*
 it.CL-is one of those pains here that we women
 gaven. (Castelli 2015)
 have
 'It is a pain that we, women, usually have.'

Finally, adnominal demonstratives cannot present a reinforcing deictic adverb after a restrictive adjective or a PP following the noun (compare (22a–c) with (22b–d)):

- (22) a. *sta vècia màchina chì*
 this old car here
 'this old car'
- b. **sta màchina vècia chì*
 this car old here
 'this old car'
- c. *quel libro lì de todésch*
 that book there of German
 'that book on German'

- d. **quel libro de todésch lì*
 that book of German there
 ‘that book on German’

The dialectal composed forms are comparable to the composed forms found in the French demonstrative system.¹⁷ Describing French demonstratives, Beyssade (2015: 183) notes that: “there is a semantic difference between the use of *ce* *N* on the one hand and *ce N-ci* on the other. The composed forms can only be used if there is in the context more than one referent satisfying the property of being *N*”.¹⁸ In CT, too, the reinforcing adverb is often used to express a contrast, and more generally a focus, as in (23):

- (23) *Ò lezù sto libro chì (no quel lì).*
 I.have read this book here not that there
 ‘I have read this book (not that one).’

In this sentence the element furthest to the right receives a marked prosodic feature or tonal weight (Cinque 1993). It seems, however, that CT composed demonstrative forms can also occur with no pragmatic function of focus, as in examples (24a–b), which do not require a contrasted object/subject:

- (24) a. *Taca ste do còrde chì!*
 tie these two strings here
 ‘Tie these two strings (here) together!’
 b. *St’acqua chì no l’è miga frésca.*
 this-water here not she.CL-is *miga* fresh
 ‘This water (here) is not fresh at all.’

17 Rohlfs (1968: §493) compares the Lombard composed forms with French demonstratives.

18 Other studies on demonstrative composed forms propose a focus position to explain the reinforcing adverb: Gutiérrez-Rexach (2015: 462–463), for example, suggests that in Spanish demonstratives such as *estos coches de aquí* the element furthest to the right in the NP is in a position associated with pragmatic focus. Casalicchio & Terenghi (2019) suggest that the combination ‘demonstrative + locative adverb’ emerged as reduced relative clause and went then on a grammaticalisation path that led the adverb to be reinterpreted first as focus particle and eventually to a BigDemP structure (similar to the BigDP that has already been proposed e.g. in Cecchetto 2000); this last step was reached only in the Italian dialects where the locative adverb is obligatory.

Several locative adverbs can co-occur with the demonstratives *sto* and *quel*: not only *chì*, *qua*, *lì*, *là*, but also *arènt* ‘beside’, *drio* ‘after’, *fòra* ‘outside’. This suggests that the adverb expresses a more specific feature than [+/-proximate], which indicates the referent position in relation to both speaker and hearer. The feature expressed by the forms co-occurring with adverbs, on the other hand, has a general deictic function. In other words, prenominal single forms of demonstratives express semantic features of definiteness, deixis and location simultaneously, whereas two-membered demonstrative constructions spell out a [+deictic +definite] feature through the demonstrative form, and a [+locative] feature through the adverb.

3.3 Possessive Adjectives and Pronouns

3.3.1 General Properties

Possessive adjectives can occur either immediately before or after the noun, or in a predicative position after the copula. The different positions are realized by different forms: 1st person singular, 2nd person singular and 3rd person singular and plural possessives present a clitic form for prenominal adjectives, and a stressed form for post-nominal and predicative adjectives, and pronouns. The clitic form is invariant, while the stressed form agrees in gender and number with the noun to which it refers. The 1st and 2nd plural person possessive forms are identical (*nòs*, *nòssa*, *nòssi*, *nòsse*; *vòs*, *vòssa*, *vòssi*, *vòsse*) whether their position is prenominal, post-nominal or predicative; they always agree in gender and number with the noun.

In CT, the normal position for possessive adjectives is prenominal. The prenominal possessive is preceded by a definite article (or a demonstrative, or a quantifier¹⁹). However, sometimes—when the emphasis is on the possessor (*tògo la bici mia*, *no la tua* ‘I’ll take MY bike, not yours’), and in few fixed idioms (*a casa mia* ‘my house’, *en càmera mia* ‘my room’)—the possessive is post-nominal, and no article precedes the noun.

Table 22 provides an overview of all the possessive forms used in CT for attributive and predicative adjectives and pronouns.

19 One can also find sequences formed by article + possessive + quantifier + N (*i me tanti libri* ‘my many books’), where the possessive must follow the article.

TABLE 22 Possessive pronouns

	pren. adj. S.M.	pren. adj. S.F.	pren. adj. PL.M.	pren. adj. PL.F.	pron. and predic. S.M.	pron. and predic. S.F.	pron. and predic. PL.M.	pron. and predic. PL.F.
1st sing	<i>el me libro</i> 'my book'	<i>la me bici</i> 'my bike'	<i>i me libri</i> 'my books'	<i>le me bici</i> 'my bikes'	<i>el mio</i> 'mine' <i>l'è mio</i> 'it is mine'	<i>la mia</i> 'mine' <i>l'è mia</i> 'it is mine'	<i>i mèi</i> 'mine' <i>i è mèi</i> 'they are mine'	<i>le mie</i> 'mine' <i>le è mie</i> 'they are mine'
2nd sing	<i>el to libro</i> 'your book'	<i>la to bici</i> 'your bike'	<i>i to libri</i> 'your books'	<i>le to bici</i> 'your bikes'	<i>el tuo</i> 'yours' <i>l'è tuo</i> 'it is yours'	<i>la tua</i> 'yours' <i>l'è tua</i> 'it is yours'	<i>i tòi</i> 'yours' <i>i è tòi</i> 'they are yours'	<i>le tue</i> 'yours' <i>le è tue</i> 'they are yours'
3rd sing	<i>el so libro</i> 'his/her book'	<i>la so bici</i> 'his/her bike'	<i>i so libri</i> 'his/her books'	<i>le so bici</i> 'his/her bikes'	<i>el suo</i> 'his/hers' <i>l'è suo</i> 'it is his/hers'	<i>la sua</i> 'his/hers' <i>l'è sua</i> 'it is his/hers'	<i>i sòi</i> 'theirs' <i>i' è sòi</i> 'they are theirs'	<i>le sóe</i> 'theirs' <i>le è sóe</i> 'they are hers'
3rd pl	<i>el so libro</i> 'their book'	<i>la so bici</i> 'their bike'	<i>i so libri</i> 'their books'	<i>le so bici</i> 'their bikes'	<i>el suo</i> theirs <i>l'è suo</i> 'it is theirs'	<i>la sua</i> 'theirs' <i>l'è sua</i> 'it is theirs'	<i>i sòi</i> 'theirs' <i>i è sòi</i> 'they are theirs'	<i>le sóe</i> 'theirs' <i>le è sóe</i> 'they are theirs'
1st pl	<i>el nòs libro</i> 'our book'	<i>la nòssa bici</i> 'our bike'	<i>i nòssi libri</i> 'our books'	<i>le nòsse bici</i> 'our bikes'	<i>el nòs</i> 'ours' <i>l'è nòs</i> 'it is ours'	<i>la nòssa</i> 'ours' <i>l'è nòssa</i> it is ours	<i>i nòssi</i> 'ours' <i>i è nòssi</i> 'they are ours'	<i>le nòsse</i> 'ours' <i>le è nòsse</i> 'they are ours'
2nd pl	<i>el vòs libro</i> 'your book'	<i>la vòssa bici</i> 'your bike'	<i>i vòssi libri</i> your 'books'	<i>le vòsse bici</i> 'your bikes'	<i>el vòs</i> yours <i>l'è vòs</i> 'it is yours'	<i>la vòssa</i> yours <i>l'è vòssa</i> 'it is yours'	<i>i vòssi</i> yours <i>i è vòssi</i> 'they are yours'	<i>le vòsse</i> yours <i>le è vòsse</i> 'they are yours'

3.3.2 *Co-occurrence of Possessives with Determiners, Genitives, and Quantifiers*

As we have seen, an article—either definite or indefinite—usually precedes the possessive. Kinship terms in the singular, however, are often preceded by a bare possessive (25a);²⁰ less frequently, an article may co-occur with the possessive form (25b):

- (25) a. *me pare, to zio, so fiòla, me mama*
 my father your uncle his/her daughter my mother
 ‘my father, your uncle, his/her daughter, my mother’
- b. *la me mama, la so fiòla*
 the my mum the his/her daughter
 ‘my mother, his/her daughter’

When the head noun is a kinship term followed by a PP ‘*de* + N’, a 3rd person possessive adjective can substitute the definite article. The possessive is co-referential with the noun in the PP, as in example (26):

- (26) *so fradèl del Paolo*
 his brother of-the Paolo
 ‘Paul’s brother’

Since the 3rd person possessive adjective *so* is the only form available for possessors—whether masculine or feminine, singular or plural—a PP (*de* + pronoun) is required in ambiguous NPs, in which the possessor is [+ human], and what is possessed is material:²¹

- (27) *el so libro de éla, de lóri, de lóre*
 the her book of her of them.M of them.F
 ‘his/her/their book’

Nouns that indicate inalienable possession (*nas* ‘nose’, *tèsta* ‘head’, *man* ‘hand’) usually occur with a definite determiner and without a possessive adjective; the possessor is expressed by a personal dative clitic:

20 Similarly, one finds *me casa* ‘my house’: the possessive is prenominal and does not co-occur with the article.

21 In Mexican and Andean Spanish similar phrases are attested: *su casa de Juan, su novio de Juana*. These constructions used to be possible in Spain too; see Picallo & Rigau (1999: 981).

- (28) a. *Me fa mal la tèsta.*
 me.DAT.CL makes pain the head
 'I have a headache.'
- b. *Te còla el nas.*
 you.DAT.CL drips the nose
 'You've got a runny nose.'
- c. *La se lava sèmpre le man ala fontana.*
 she.CL se washes always the hands at-the fountain
 'She always washes her hands at the fountain.'

Finally, note that in CT, unlike in Italian, the possessive adjective can never be directly preceded by the partitive form '*de* + article'. This partitive must be introduced by an indefinite locution such as *en pòchi/en pòche* ('some'), which is used with plural nouns (see (29a) vs. (29a')); *en pòch* (a little), which is used for mass nouns (see (29b) vs. (29b')); *qualchedùn* ('some'), which is used for plural human nouns ((29c) vs (29c')).²²

- (29) a. *Ò taià en pòchi dei me fióri.*
 I.have cut a few of-the my flowers
 'I cut a few of my flowers.'
- a'. **Ò taià dei me fióri.*
 I.have cut of-the my flowers
 'I cut a few of my flowers.'
- b. *Ò vendù en pòch del me late.*
 I.have sold a few of-the my milk
 'I sold a little of my milk.'
- b'. **Ò vendù del me late.*
 I.have sold of-the my milk
 'I sold a little of my milk.'
- c. *Ò encontrà qualchedùn dei me compagni.*
 I.have met someone of-the my school-mates
 'I met some of my school-mates.'

²² See § 3.4.

- c'. *Ò *encontrà dei me compagni.*
 I.have met of-the my school-mates
 'I met some of my school-mates.'

3.4 Quantified NPs

3.4.1 General Properties

Quantifiers have the particular property of non-unique reference.²³ They are logical operators that immediately precede the determiner (*tuti i pòpi* 'all children'); the latter is empty with almost all quantifiers (*qualche pòpo* 'some child').²⁴ When a quantifier follows the determiner (or the demonstrative adjective), it ceases to be a logical operator and becomes a quantity adjective (*sti pòchi pòpi*, *i pòchi pòpi* 'these few children', 'the few children'). *Qualche* 'some', *ògni* 'every', *nissùn* 'no' cannot become quantity adjectives: as logical operators exclusively, they can never be preceded by a determiner/demonstrative.

The following sequences are syntactically possible (taking into account the order of determiners, quantifiers, and nouns):

- i. quantifier + determiner + N (*tuti i N*)
- ii. quantifier + null determiner + N (*qualche/ògni/nissùn N*)
- iii. determiner + quantifier + N (*i tanti/pochi N*)

And some locutions are formed by:

- iv. indefinite determiner + quantifier + *de* + N (*en par de N*, *en sach de N*, *en pòch de N*)

There are four different semantic classes of quantifiers and quantified NPs: universals, numerals, indefinites, and negatives, each of which is considered separately below.

3.4.2 Universal Quantifiers

The CT universal quantifiers that most frequently occur with NPs are: *tuto/tut* 'all', *tutidói* 'both', *ògni* 'each, every'.

Tuto/tut agrees in gender and number with the head noun and its suffixes are regular:

23 In the sentence *Every student in the class thinks that Professor Rossi hates him [them]*, for example, the referential value of *him* varies in accordance with the referential values of the quantifier *every*: in a set of twenty students, there will be twenty different values for the quantifier and the pronoun.

24 See Cinque (1997: 186).

TABLE 23 The forms of the quantifier *tut-*

M.SG.	F.SG.	M.PL.	F.PL.
<i>tuto/tut</i>	<i>tuta</i>	<i>tuti</i>	<i>tute</i>

Tuto is always followed by a definite determiner (30a), or by a demonstrative (30b):

- (30) a. *Tute le scòle le finìs a metà del més che vèn.*
all the schools they.CL finish at half of-the month that comes
'All the schools end in the middle of next month.'
- b. *Da ndó vègnelo tut sto bacàn?*
from where comes-he.CL all this noise
'Where's all this noise coming from?'

As in most northern Italian dialects, in CT the equivalent of Italian *tutti e due*, *tutti e tre* etc. ('both', 'all three', etc.) lacks the conjunction *e* 'and'. The quantifier *tutidói*, like *tuto*, agrees with the head noun and requires a definite determiner before it (both on the universal quantifier and on the numeral):

- (31) a. *Tutidói i putèi i è nadi via.*
all-two.M.PL the children.M they.CL.M.PL are gone.M.PL away
'Both the boys have left.'
- b. *Tutedóe le putèle le è nade via.*
all-two.F.PL the children.F they.CL.F.PL are gone.F.PL away
'Both the girls have left.'

In CT, like in Italian, the quantifiers *tuti* and *tutidói* can 'float', or, in other words, occupy a position away from the head noun when the latter is a subject (32a–b). When they refer to an object clitic, *tuti* and *tutidói* both occupy the postverbal position (32c):

- (32) a. *I putèi i a (tuti / tutidói) za (tuti / tutidói)*
the children they.CL have all both already all both
finì (tuti / tutidói).
finished all both
'All/both the children have already finished.'

- b. *I putèi i s'a visti tuti al*
 the children they.CL se-have seen all at-the
spègio. (Sover, ASIIt, 1, 25)
 mirror
 'All the children have seen themselves in the mirror.'
- c. *I ò trovadi tuti / tutidói en cortil.*
 them.CL I.have found all both in yard
 'I found them all/both in the yard.'

Another CT universal quantifier that occurs with NPs is *ògni* 'each, every'. *Ògni* has only a singular form that is incompatible with a realized determiner:

- (33) a. *Ògni libro el va més al so pòsto.*
 every book it.CL goes put at-the its place
 'Each book should be put in its place.'
- b. *Ògni stimana laóro zínque di.*
 every week I.work five days
 'Every week I work five days.'

CT has an adjective *ciascun* ('each', 'every'), which is scarcely attested²⁵ and is now only found as a pronoun in the form *ciaschedùn* 'everybody'.²⁶

3.4.3 Numerals

In CT, as in some other Italian dialects, the numbers one, two and three have both a clitic form, which cannot occur alone and is used as adjective, and a stressed form, which can occur alone and is used as pronoun.²⁷

25 Aneggi 1984 gives *ciascun* as both an adjective and a pronoun, although he does not provide any examples.

26 In some old Trentino documents one finds the pronominal forms *cascaun* e *cescaun*. See *Statuti dei Battuti della città di Trento* edited by Schneller 1881, at Capitulum II (*Item si statuim e si ordenem, che cascaun de la fradaya si se deba confesar* 'In this way we decide and order, that everyone in the brotherhood must confess [their sins]'), and at Capitulum III (*Item si statuim e si ordenem, che cescaun de la fradaya se sia tegnù de dir ognà di XXV pater noster* 'In this way we decide and order that everyone in the brotherhood must recite XXV paternosters each day:').

27 Rohlf's (1969: §§ 971–972); Cinque (1997: 187).

- (34) a. - *Gò en tàol. - Quanti? - Uno / *En.*
 I.have a table how.many one one.CL
 ‘—I have a table.—How many?—One.’
- b. - *Gò do caréghe. - Quante? - Dói / *Do.*
 I.have two chairs how.many two two.CL
 ‘—I have two chairs.—How many?—Two.’
- c. - *Gò tre scagnèi. - Quanti? - Trèi / *Trè.*
 I.have three stools how.many three three.CL
 ‘—I have three stools.—How many?—Three.’

Only the quantifier adjective ‘one’ has a masculine and a feminine form, respectively *en* and *na*. These two forms are identical to those used as indefinite determiners. The other numeral pronouns are invariable. The feminine form *dóe*, however, is attested in the quantifier *tutedóe* (31b).

All numerals except ‘one’ have a double category: they can be either quantity adjectives (35a)—when preceded by a determiner, a demonstrative or a logical operator (35b); in this case they are incompatible with all determiners and demonstratives. In (35a) the NP refers to a specific referent, in (35b) the referent is non-determined:

- (35) a. *I / sti tre dotóri i parla massa.*
 the these three doctors they.CL talk too.much
 ‘The three/these three doctors speak too much.’
- b. *Tre dotóri i déve ancór scriver la ricèta.*
 three doctors they.CL must still write the prescription
 ‘Three doctors still have to write a prescription.’

3.4.4 Indefinite Quantifiers

CT has several indefinite quantifiers: *tant/a/i/e* ‘much’, ‘a lot of’, ‘many’, *pòch/pòco/a/chi/che* ‘a little of’ ‘little’ ‘few’, *arquanti/e* ‘several’, *qualche* ‘some’, *massa* ‘too much, too many’. A phrase is sometimes used instead of a quantifier to specify quantity, sequenced as follows: indefinite article + *pòch/tant*/metaphoric noun (suggesting a tiny/huge quantity) + *de* + head noun. Finally, CT has indefinite quantifiers such as *en zèrto N*, *en tal N*, corresponding to ‘a certain N’.

The quantifiers *tant* and *pòch* agree with the head noun in gender and number:

- (36) a. *El ga tanti amizzi.*
 he.CL has many friends
 'He has many friends.'
- b. *El ga tanta pazziènz.*
 he.CL has much patience
 'He has a lot of patience.'
- c. *El ga pòchi amizzi.*
 he.CL has few friends
 'He has few friends.'
- d. *El ga pòca pazziènz.*
 he.CL has few patience
 'He has little patience.'

Tant is sometimes followed by the preposition *de* while still agreeing with the noun, which is often preceded by the demonstrative *quel*. Speakers use this construction to emphasize the size of a quantity.

- (37) a. *I fa sèmpre tant (de quel) bacàn.*
 they make always much of that noise
 'They always make so much noise.'
- b. *El ga portà via tanta (de quela) ròba.*
 he.CL has brought away much of that stuff
 'He has already got rid of so much stuff.'

Pòch can also occur as part of a phrase, where it is preceded by an uninflected indefinite determiner and followed by *de* + N. Even when in a phrase, *pòch* still agrees with the head noun in gender and number:

- (38) *en pòch de pan / en pòca de polènta / en pòchi de*
 a few.M.SG of bread a few.F.SG of polenta a few.M.PL of
fónghi
 mushrooms
 'a bit of bread a bit of polenta few mushrooms'

Other phrases, such as *en tantinèl de N*, *en cincinèl de N*, can be used in CT to express a small amount of a substance.

- (39) *Volerìa en tantinèl de formài.*
 I.would.like a little.bit of cheese
 'I would like a little bit of cheese.'

The plural quantifiers *tanti* and *pòchi* can occupy a position away from the head noun when the latter is a subject (40a). The quantifier is preceded by the preposition *en* 'in'. Floating is obligatory when *tanti/pòchi* refer to an object clitic (40b):

- (40) a. *I putèi i a fat fèsta en tanti.*
 the children they.CL have made party in many
 'Many boys have celebrated.'
- b. *El n'a ciamadi en tanti.*
 he.CL us.CL-has called in many
 'He has called many of us.'

The quantifier *arquanti* ('several') always functions as a logical operator with plural nouns. It never occurs with a determiner or demonstrative. *Arquanti* agrees in gender with the head noun.

- (41) a. *arquanti pòpi; arquante pòpe*
 several boys several girls
- b. *(*i/*quéi) arquanti pòpi; (*le/*quéle) arquante pòpe*
 the/those several boys the/those several girls
 'the/those several boys; the/those several girls'

Qualche is an invariable quantifier, and is always followed by a singular noun.²⁸

- (42) *Qualche maèstra la s'è fermada a scòla.*
 some teacher she.CL se-is stopped at school
 'Some of the (female) teachers remained at school.'

28 In Aneggi (1984) *valghe* is given as a synonym of *qualche*, but without examples. ALD2, however, does provide examples (apparently restricted to fixed idiomatic phrases): *a valghe maniera/mòdo* 'in some way', in Cembra (p. 113); *da valghe man* 'somewhere', in Sicina (p. 111); *da varghe banda* 'somewhere', in Segonzano (p. 112).

In CT, quantity is often expressed by a phrase formed by a noun that metaphorically suggests a large amount (most such phrases are followed by negatively connotated nouns), such as (43a)). A limited number of phrases also express very small quantities (43b):

- (43) a. *en sach de bosie* 'a bag/pack of lies', *en mucio de strazze* 'a bunch/heap of rags', *en sfracèl de studènti* 'a havoc of students', *na sfaràgine de mósche* 'a mass of flies', *en fraco/fracàs de multe* 'a quantity of penalties', *na sfilza de bruti vóti* 'a string of bad marks', *na sélva de pòpi* 'a forest of children', *na petéra de néf* 'a quantity of snow', *na carga de bòte* 'a load of beatings', *na banca de légnà* 'a lot of wood', *na mòta de carte* 'an infinity of papers', *na mandràgola de bòci*, *na sdràgola de bòci* 'a row of boys', *en vagón de còmputi* 'a wagon of homework', *na sórbola de féver* 'a high temperature', *en spropòsit de afit* 'a blunder of rent'
- b. *en migol de pazziènta* 'a crumb of patience', *en s-ciant de péver* 'a pinch of pepper', *en pizzech de alegrìa* 'a pinch of cheerfulness', *en tochetìn de pan* 'a little piece of bread'²⁹

The Italian quantifier *troppo/a/e/i* 'too much/too many' has its equivalent in CT in the adverb *massa*, which precedes mass nouns and plural nouns ((44a). The same form occurs with verbs and adjectives (44 b–c):

- (44) a. *massa vólte*, *massa zènt*, *massa lat*
 too.many times too.much people too.much milk
 'too many times, too much people, too much milk'
- b. *Ò magnà massa*; *ò bevù massa*
 I.have eaten too.much I.have drunk too.much
 'I have eaten too much; I have drunk too much.'
- c. *massa bèl*; *massa strét*; *massa gròs*
 too nice too narrow too big
 'too nice, too tight, too big'

Finally, we have the indefinite quantifiers *en zèrto*, *en tal* N 'a certain N', *en qualsiasi* N 'any N'. In the singular the three forms require an indefinite article.

29 *En tochetìn de* 'a little piece of ...' is used only with concrete nouns. It is impossible to find expressions like: **en tochetìn de paziènta* 'a little piece of patience'.

The first indefinite adjective agrees in gender and number with the head noun (45a), the other two are invariable and require a singular N (45b–c):

- (45) a. *en zèrto siór; na zèrta sióra; zèrti*
 a certain (gentle)man a certain lady/woman certain
 sióri; zèrte sióre
 (gentle)men certain ladies/women
 ‘a certain gentleman, a certain lady, certain gentlemen, certain ladies’
- b. *en tal siór; na tal sióra*
 a certain (gentle)man a certain lady/woman
 ‘a certain gentleman, a certain lady’
- c. *en qualsiasi siór; na qualsiasi sióra*
 a any (gentle)man a any lady/woman
 ‘any gentleman, any lady’

3.4.5 Negative Quantifiers

The negative quantifiers used before a noun in CT are *nessùn* or *nissùn*, *nessuna* or *nissuna* ‘no N’ (46a–b), and *neanca/gnanca en/na* N ‘not even a N’ (46c–d).³⁰ They all occur with singular nouns, with which they agree in gender. Usually *nissùn/-a* refers to [+human] nouns.

- (46) a. *Nissùn papà faria così.*³¹
 no dad would.do so
 ‘No dad would behave thus.’
- b. *Nissuna mama doveria far così.*
 no mum should do so
 ‘No mum would behave thus.’
- c. *Neanca en can l’ a sbaià stanòt.*
 not.even a dog he.CL-has barked tonight
 ‘Not a single dog barked last night.’

³⁰ Aneggi 1984 attests also the form *negun/-a*.

³¹ It should be noticed that in examples (46a–b) no subject clitic occurs after the subjects *nissùn* N/*nissuna* N; on the co-occurrence of negative quantifiers and subject clitics, see § 4.2.

- d. *Neanca na barca l' era ligada al mòlo.*
 not.even a boat she.CL-was tied to-the dock
 'Not a single ship was tied to the dock.'

CT has a negative concord rule: a double negation is required when the negative quantifier is post-verbal (47a–b):³²

- (47) a. *No è vegnù nissùn professór ala gita.*
 not is come no teacher to-the trip
 'No teacher came on the trip.'
- b. *No ò vist neanca en cunèl.*
 not I.have seen not.even a rabbit
 'I have not even seen a rabbit.'

A negative quantifier is sometimes found in a preverbal subject position of an embedded clause after a sentential negation in the matrix clause:³³

- (48) *No vòl che nissuna maèstra la staga a scòla la sera.*
 not I.want that no teacher she.CL stays.SBJV at school the evening
 'I do not want any teacher to stay at school in the evening.'

3.5 Interrogative and Exclamative NPs

3.5.1 Interrogative *wh* NP

Three complex *wh*-phrases occur in CT, formed by a *wh*-modifier—*che* 'which', *qual* 'which' and *quanto* 'how much'—followed by a nominal element (a phonetically realized nominal head).³⁴ Complex *wh*-phrases always occur in the first position of the sentence (49–51 a vs. 49–51a'):

- (49) a. *En che classe vat?*
 in which class go=you.CL

³² See chapter 6.

³³ Rizzi (1982); Cinque (1997).

³⁴ All interrogative *wh*- in NPs are considered quantifiers; see Longobardi (1988).

a'. **Vat en che classe?*
 go=you.CL in which class
 'What class are you in?'

(50) a. *Quala bórsa vòt?*
 which bag want=you.CL

a'. **Vòt quala borsa?*
 want=you.CL which bag
 'Which bag do you want?'

(51) a. *Quante màie vòt?*
 how.many pulls want=you.CL

a'. **Vòt quante maie?*
 want=you.CL how.many pulls
 'How many pullovers do you want?'

Che is invariable in gender and number, see (52a–b):

(52) a. *Che libro / libri lézet?*
 which book books read=you.CL
 'What book/books are you reading?'

b. *Che stòria / stòrie lézet?*
 which novel novels read=you.CL
 'What novel/novels are you reading?'

Quant- and *qual* adjectives, on the other hand, always agree with the noun in gender and number; see (53–56 a–b):

(53) a. *Quanto pan vòt?*
 how.much bread want=you.CL
 'How much bread do you want?'

b. *Quanta polènta vòt?*
 how.much polènta want=you.CL
 'How much polènta do you want?'

- (54) a. *Quanti pómi vòt?*
 how-many apples want=you.CL
 'How many apples do you want?'
 b. *Quante patate vòt?*
 how.many potatoes want=you.CL
 'How many potatoes do you want?'
- (55) a. *Qual libro lézet?*
 which book read=you.CL
 Which book are you reading?
 b. *Quala stòria lézet?*
 which novel read=you.CL
 'Which novel are you reading?'
- (56) a. *Quai pómi vòt?*
 which apples want=you.CL
 'Which apples do you want?'
 b. *Quale patate vòt?*
 which potatoes want=you.CL
 'Which potatoes do you want?'

As shown in the examples (53)–(56), there are two possible interrogative adjectives: *che*, which is more frequent, and *qual*-, which is preferred when a particular emphasis is given to the choice in question.³⁵ For the analogous pronominal forms, on the other hand, only *qual*, *quala*, *quali*, *quale* are available. When the speaker intends to place more stress on the aspect of choice, the expression '*che sòrt de* + plural noun' can also be used in interrogatives, as illustrated in (57):

- (57) *Che sòrt de libri zérchet?*
 what sort of book search=you.CL
 'What kind of books are you looking for?'

The same interrogative forms (*che*, *qual*, *che sòrt de*) also occur in the first position of cleft questions (58a–c) and indirect questions (59a–c)(cf. §9.4.3):

35 In Aneggi (1984) *quel*, *quela* (adjectives and pronouns) are given as synonyms of *quale*.

- (58) a. *Che libri èlo che dévo lézer?*
 what books is=it.CL that I.must read
 'Which books should I read?'
 b. *Quai libri èlo che dévo lézer?*
 which books is=it.CL that I.must read
 'Which books should I read?'
 c. *Che sòrt de libri èlo che dévo lézer?*
 what sort of book is=it.CL that I.must read
 'Which books should I read?'
- (59) a. *No sò che libri dévo lézer.*
 not I.know what books I.must read
 I do not know which books I should read.
 b. *No sò quai libri dévo lézer.*
 not I.know which books I.must read
 I do not know which books I should read.
 c. *No sò che sòrt de libri dévo lézer.*
 not I.know what sort of books I.must read
 'I do not know what books I should read.'

3.5.2 Exclamative *wh* NP

In exclamatives only *che* ('what' 'how') and *quant/quanta/quant/quante* ('how much, how many') are possible (see also § 9.1.3). They always occur in the first position of the sentence. The complementiser *che* introduces the noun that follows the *wh*- NP:³⁶

- (60) a. *Che polènta che te ai fat!*
 what polenta that you.CL have made
 'What a polenta you have cooked!'

36 The same structure occurs when the exclamative *wh*- precedes an adjective:

i. *Che zidiós che l'è quel pòpo!*
 how plaintive that he.CL-is that child
 'How plaintive that child is!'

b. *Che pòpo zidiós che l'è!*
 what child plaintive that he.CL-is
 'What a plaintive child he is!'

c. *Che bèle scarpe che te ai comprà!*
 what nice shoes that you.CL have bought
 'What nice shoes you bought!'

(61) a. *Quanta polènta che te ai comprà!*
 how.much polenta that you.CL have bought
 'How much polenta you have cooked!'

b. *Quanti libri che te lézi!*
 how.many books that you.CL read
 'How many books you read!'

The same holds in embedded exclamative clauses:³⁷

(62) *Avé vist che bèla casa (che gh'è)!*
 you.have.PL seen what nice house that there-is
 'Have you seen how lovely the house is!'

3.6 Quality Adjectives

3.6.1 *The Position of the Adjectives*

As in Italian—and in Romance languages generally—in Trentino and in CT the N-A order is unmarked and is obligatory for relational³⁸ and distinguishing adjectives (*en giornàl nazionàl* 'a national newspaper', *el studènte todésch* 'the German student', *la casa róssa* 'the red house', *el libro nòf* 'the new book'). Subjective (emphatic and size) adjectives occupy the prenominal position (*en bòn vin* 'a good wine', *na gran confusión* 'a great confusion'), which is stylistically or

³⁷ Cf. § 9.1.3.

³⁸ Relational adjectives are denominal. They express a relationship between the name from which they derive and the one with which they agree (regional law = law of the region). These adjectives have the following syntactic characteristics: a) they do not precede the name to which they refer; b) they are neither gradable nor comparable; c) they are never used in nominal predicates.

semantically marked.³⁹ Adjectives of manner and argument, adjectival participles, and comparative adjectives never occur in a prenominal position.⁴⁰

While in Italian several adjectives can be in pre- and post-nominal position, in CT few minimal pairs A-N / N-A occur; in this case, the adjective has two different forms depending on whether it precedes or follows the noun, as shown by the comparison between examples (63a–c) in Italian and examples (63a'–c') in CT:

- (63) a. *un pover uomo / un uomo povero*
 a'. *en pòr òm / n òm porét*
 a poor man a man poor
 'a poor man (expression of sympathy) / a poor man (referring to material poverty)'
- b. *una vecchia amica / una amica vecchia*
 an old friend a friend old
 b'. *na compagna da tant tèmp / na compagna vècia*
 a friend from much time a friend old
 'an old friend (a longstanding friendship)/an old friend (referring to their age)'
- c. *una certa spesa / una spesa certa*
 c'. *na zèrta spésa na spésa sicura*
 'a certain expense/ an expense that is certain'

In those sentences where the adjective occurs in a sequence with one or more determinants, the adjective is adjacent to the noun (immediately before, or immediately after it), such as in *tuti sti to bèi fradèi* 'all these many nice brothers of yours' / *tuti sti to fradèi bióndi* 'all these blond brothers of yours'.

3.6.2 Adjectival Inflection: Number and Gender

In CT predicative, pre-nominal and post-nominal qualitative adjectives agree in gender and number with the nouns that they modify.

- (64) *en bèl putèl, na bici vècia, quatro gati siamési i piati nòvi*
 a nice boy a bike old four cats Siamese the dishes new
 'a nice boy, an old bike, four Siamese cats, the new dishes'

39 Prenominal adjectives in Romance languages are speaker-oriented.

40 See § 3.6.2 for adjectival participles, and § 3.6.4 for comparatives.

TABLE 24 Adjectives ending in *-o* or consonant in the sg. m.

M.S.	F.SG.	M.PL.	F.PL.
<i>dólz</i> ‘sweet’	<i>dólza</i>	<i>dólzi</i>	<i>dólze</i>
<i>fin</i> ‘thin’	<i>fina</i>	<i>fini</i>	<i>fine</i>
<i>grant</i> ‘great’	<i>granda</i>	<i>grandi</i>	<i>grande</i> ^a
<i>bèl</i> ‘nice’	<i>bèla</i>	<i>bèi</i>	<i>bèle</i>
<i>gròs</i> ‘big’	<i>gròssa</i>	<i>gròssi</i>	<i>gròsse</i>
<i>débol</i> ‘weak’	<i>débola</i>	<i>déboi</i>	<i>débole</i>
<i>strach</i> ‘tired’	<i>straca</i>	<i>strachi</i>	<i>strache</i>
<i>mòro</i> ‘dark’	<i>mòra</i>	<i>mòri</i>	<i>mòre</i>
<i>alégro</i> ‘cheerful’	<i>alégra</i>	<i>alégri</i>	<i>alégre</i>

a The realization of voiced consonants as non-voiced consonants in the final word position is regular in Trentino dialects; see Alber (2014).

TABLE 25 Adjectives ending in *-e* in the sg. m.

M.S.	F.SG.	M.PL.	F.PL.
<i>sèmplizze</i> ‘simple’	<i>sèmplizze</i>	<i>sèmplizzi</i>	<i>sèmplizzi</i>
<i>embezzile</i> ‘stupid’	<i>embezzile</i>	<i>embezzili</i>	<i>embezzili</i>
<i>volgare</i> ‘vulgar’	<i>volgare</i>	<i>volgari</i>	<i>volgari</i>

A noteworthy property of Trentino is the reduction of all non-derived adjectives into two classes, the first of which contains the masculine singular suffix *-o* or a null suffix (PL. *-i*), and the feminine singular suffix *-a* (PL. *-e*), as shown in Table 24.

Non-derived quality adjectives ending in *-e* in the singular and in *-i* in the plural persons form a second—smaller—class, illustrated in Table 25.

3.6.3 *Adjectival Participles*

In CT many past participles function as adjectives.⁴¹ Most of them end in *-à* in the masculine singular, *-ada* in the feminine singular, *-ài* in the masculine plural, *-àde* in the feminine plural, like regular participles (65):

- (65) *afezzionà* 'fond', *agità* 'agitated', *armà* 'armed', *bagnà* 'wet', *sbalonà* 'stoned', *sbarbà* 'shaven', *bosimà* 'greasy', *carolà* 'carious', *danà* 'damned', *dešmissià* 'cute', *derocà* 'crumbling', *descantà* 'cute', *destemprà* 'warm', *embestià* 'very angry', *encagnà* 'caught', *endormenzà* 'slow', *engranizzà* 'sooty', *entrigà* 'very busy', *famà* 'hungry', *grevà* 'heavy', *sudà* 'sweaty', *malà* 'sick', *malbinà* 'battered', *smonà* 'depressed', *pelà* 'bald', *s-ciopà* 'burst', *salà* 'salted' or 'expensive', *scanà* 'penniless', *setà* 'tight', *sfondrà* 'bottomless', *spirità* 'very agitated', *spudà* 'spat' or 'identical', *stranià* 'nostalgic', *studià* 'educated', *tacà* 'closed'

Another group of adjectival participles end in *-ì* in the masculine singular, *-ida* in the feminine singular, *-idi* in the masculine plural, *-ide* in the feminine plural. Some examples are given in (66):

- (66) *ensemeni* 'foolish', *engremeni* 'stiffened', *enzochi* 'deeply asleep', *slavari* 'washed out', *malsaori* 'not satisfied', *smari* 'lost', *saori* 'tasty', *endolzi* 'sweetened'

Only a few adjectival participles end in *-ù* in the masculine singular, *-uda* in the feminine singular, *-udi* in the masculine plural, *-ude* in the feminine plural (67):

- (67) *beù* 'drunk', *batù* 'beaten', *sbatù* 'banged', *lezù* 'educated', *sconfondù* 'confused'

The attributive function is also available for a handful of participles in *-t* in the masculine singular, *-ta* in the feminine singular, *-ti* in the masculine plural, *-te* in the feminine plural, and in *-s* (*-sa*, *-si*, *-se*) (68):

- (68) *scrit* 'written', *mòrt* 'dead', *coèrt* 'covered', *scoèrt* 'uncovered', *tés* 'full, stuffed'

41 See chapter 7. The examples (64) to (68) are taken from ALTR 2005; for the rules of participle formation, see § 7.3.

Finally, the same function is very occasionally found (only in old written texts) in present participles ending in *-ènt* (F.SG. *-ènta*, M.PL. *-ènti*, F. PL. *-ènte*)⁴² and in *-ànte* (F.SG. *-ànte*, M.PL. *-ànti*, F. PL. *-ànti*), as those given in (69):

(69) *broènt* 'burning', *sugànte* 'drying'

3.6.4 Adjectival Derivation

With the exception of participles, CT has a limited number of derived quality adjectives whose suffixes are given in Table 26.

CT adjectives derive mainly from V and N; very few of them derive from nouns. Among the various suffixes attested,⁴³ two deserve particular attention: *-ech* and *-ènt*. The former has two different meanings: one corresponds to 'which is connected to X' and is analogous to the Italian suffix *-ico* (*selvàdech*, *stófech*); the second is an evaluative form and corresponds to the Italian suffix *-iccio* (*mòlech*, *maródech*). The suffix *-ènt* occurs with both verbs and adjectives. It coincides with present participle forms of verbs in *-er*. Moreover, *-ènt* is used as an intensive suffix with adjectival bases, and the derived adjective is equivalent to a superlative (see examples (72) below).

The most frequent prefixes used in CT with adjectives are illustrated in Table 27.

Most prefixed adjectives derive from prefixed verbs and occur in the form of past participles (see § 3.6.2, and § 7.4.2 for the value of the single verbal prefixes).

CT uses periphrastic forms for comparatives and superlatives (except for two fixed superlatives: *pègio* and *mèio* (70a–b)). In comparatives of majority and minority the adjective follows the noun and is preceded respectively by *pu* 'more' or *mén* 'fewer/less'; the second term of the comparison is introduced by *de* 'of' (70c–d). In comparatives of equality the adjective is optionally preceded by *così*, *sì* 'so'; the second term of the comparison is introduced by *cóme* 'than' (70e):

- (70) a. *L'è el mèio sindéech dei ùltimi zinquant'ani.*
 he.CL-is the best mayor of-the last fifty-years
 'He is the best mayor [we've had] in the last fifty years.'

⁴² See also § 3.6.4.

⁴³ See ALTR (2005).

TABLE 26 Main adjectival suffixes

Suffix	Base	Derived adjective
-àl (relational)	<i>comùn</i> 'municipality' N <i>origine</i> 'origin' N	<i>comunàl</i> 'municipal' <i>originàl</i> 'original'
-àn (provenience)	<i>Friuli</i> It. N <i>Italia</i> It. N <i>paés</i> 'country' N	<i>furlàn</i> 'from Friuli' <i>taliàn</i> 'Italian' <i>paesàn</i> 'from the country'
-ech (relational/ alterative)	<i>sélva</i> 'wood' N <i>stofegàr</i> 'to stifle' V <i>mòl</i> 'tender' A <i>marode</i> Germ. A 'exhausted'	<i>selvadech</i> 'wild' <i>stófech</i> 'stifling' <i>mòlech</i> 'dampish' <i>maródech</i> 'ill, weak, tired'
-èl (diminutive)	<i>mòro</i> 'dark' A	<i>morèl</i> 'dark'
-ènt (intensive)	<i>slanciàr</i> 'to throw' V <i>rider</i> 'to laugh' V <i>tacàr</i> 'to stick' V <i>scotàr</i> 'to boil' V <i>parlàr</i> 'to talk', 'to chat' V <i>valér</i> 'to be valid' V <i>vegnìr</i> 'to come' V <i>sól</i> 'alone' A <i>spés</i> 'thick' A <i>pién</i> 'full' A <i>nòf</i> 'new' A	<i>slancènt</i> 'impulsive' <i>ridolènt</i> 'cheerful' <i>tacolènt</i> 'sticky' <i>scotènt</i> 'boiling' <i>parlènt</i> 'chatty' <i>valènt</i> 'really/very valid' <i>vegnènt</i> 'next' <i>solènt</i> 'very alone' <i>spesiènt</i> 'very thick' <i>pieniènt</i> 'extremely full' <i>noviènt</i> 'very new'
-ìn (diminutive)	<i>brìgolàr</i> 'to move continuously' V <i>picèna</i> 'little boy' N	<i>brìgolìn</i> 'busy' <i>pìcenìn</i> 'little'
-ón (augmentative)	<i>cicia</i> 'fat meat' N <i>créder</i> 'to believe' V <i>matérie</i> 'plays' N <i>prèssa</i> 'hurry' N <i>zùca</i> 'pumpkin' N	<i>cición</i> 'fat' <i>credulón</i> 'gullible' <i>materialón</i> 'playful' <i>spressolón</i> 'hasty' <i>zucón</i> 'stubborn'
-ós (relational)	<i>calór</i> 'heath' N <i>bisógni</i> 'need' N <i>fadiga</i> 'effort' N <i>èstro</i> 'wish' N <i>paura</i> 'scare' N <i>nèrvi</i> 'nerves' N	<i>calorós</i> 'warm' <i>bisognós</i> 'in need' <i>fadigós</i> 'tiring' <i>estrós</i> 'strange' <i>paurós</i> 'afraid' <i>nervós</i> 'nervous'

TABLE 27 Main adjectival prefixes

Prefix	Base	CT derived adjective
<i>des-</i> (negative)	<i>desmentegàr</i> 'to forget' V	<i>desmentegà</i> 'forgotten'
	<i>desmissiàr</i> 'to wake' V	<i>desmissià</i> 'awake', 'cute'
	<i>desobedìr</i> 'to disobey' V	<i>desobediènt</i> 'disobedient'
	<i>desvegiàr</i> 'to wake' V	<i>desvegià</i> 'awake', 'cute'
	<i>descantàr</i> 'to stimulate' V	<i>descantà</i> 'cute'
	<i>descadenàr</i> 'to unchain' V	<i>descadenà</i> 'wild'
	<i>util</i> 'useful' A	<i>desutil</i> 'useless'
	<i>còmodo</i> 'comfortable' A	<i>descòmodo</i> 'uncomfortable'
	<i>contènt</i> 'happy' A	<i>descontènt</i> 'unsatisfied'
	<i>enamorarse</i> 'to fall in love' V	<i>enamorà</i> 'in love'
<i>en-</i> (locative or transformative)	<i>encagnarse</i> 'to get stuck' V	<i>encagnà</i> 'stuck'
	<i>enciochirise</i> 'to fall asleep' V	<i>enciochi</i> 'deeply asleep'
	<i>endormenzarse</i> 'to fall asleep' V	<i>endormenzà</i> 'asleep'
	<i>endurìr</i> 'to harden' V	<i>endurì</i> 'hardened'
	<i>enfagotàr</i> 'to bundle up' V	<i>enfagotà</i> 'bundled up'
	<i>enfizzàr</i> 'to crumple' V	<i>enfizzà</i> 'crumpled'
	<i>enfuriarse</i> 'to become furious' V	<i>enfurià</i> 'furious'
	<i>engiazzàr</i> 'to freeze' V	<i>engiazzà</i> 'frozen'
	<i>engropàr</i> 'to knot' V	<i>engropà</i> 'knotted'
	<i>enmatonìr</i> 'to weigh up' V	<i>enmatonì</i> 'weighed down'
	<i>enbusàr</i> 'to hole' V	<i>enbusà</i> 'holed'
	<i>ensemenìr</i> 'to stun' V	<i>ensemenì</i> 'stupid'
	<i>entestarse</i> 'to be stubborn' V	<i>entestà</i> 'stubborn'
	<i>envis-ciàr</i> 'to embroil' V	<i>envis-cià</i> 'embroiled'
<i>s-</i> (intensive)	<i>spuzzàr</i> 'to stink' V	<i>spuzzolènt</i> 'smelly'
	<i>spaurìr</i> 'to frighten' V	<i>spaurì</i> 'afraid'
	<i>sbrìgolàr</i> 'to move continuously' V	<i>sbrìgolón</i> 'that moves continuously'
<i>s-</i> (privative)	<i>sconfónderse</i> 'to become confused' V	<i>sconfondù</i> 'confused'
	<i>compagnàr</i> 'to match' V	<i>scompagnà</i> 'unmatched'
	<i>sfondàr</i> 'to break' V	<i>sfondà</i> 'broken'
	<i>creanza</i> 'education' N	<i>screanza</i> 'rude'

- b. *L'è el pègio libro che ò lezù.*
 it.CL-is the worst book that I.have read
 'It is the worst book I've ever read.'
- c. *Carlo, che el magna tant, l'è pu magro de ti.*
 Carlo who he.CL eats a.lot he.CL-is more thin of you
 'Carlo, who uses to eat a lot, is thinner than you.'
- d. *Gò na bici mén vècia de la tua.*
 I.have a bike less old of the yours
 'My bike is newer than yours.'
- e. *Gò na bici vècia cóme la tua.*
 I.have a bike old as the yours
 'My bike is as old as yours.'

Like simple adjectives, relative superlatives of majority and minority can either precede or follow the noun; they are preceded by a definite determiner or a demonstrative followed by either *pù* 'the most' or *men* 'the fewest' / 'the least'; the second term of the comparison is introduced by *de* 'of' (71a–b).

- (71) a. *la casa pu granda del paés*
 the house more large of-the village
 'the largest house in the village'
- b. *la casa mén granda del paés*
 the house less large of-the village
 'the smallest house in the village'

The absolute superlative forms present the suffix *-issim*, *issima*, *-issimi*, *-issime* (72a). A similar superlative meaning is expressed by adjective doubling (72b), or by the suffix *-ènt*, which is found with some adjectives (72c):

- (72) a. *fazzilissim* 'very simple', *belissim* 'very beautiful'
 b. *fàzzile fàzzile* 'very simple', *bèl bèl* 'very beautiful'
 c. *pienènt* 'extremely full', *spessènt* 'very thick', *noviènt* 'very new'⁴⁴

44 See Table 26. The same suffix is found in other Northern Italian varieties with reduplicated forms (e.g. *nòvo novènto* in Veronese). Unlike Veronese, CT does not require a

3.6.5 *Phrases with an Adjectival Interpretation*

The reduced number of derived adjectives in CT means that other strategies are productive, in particular the use of a phrase formed by *de* + N (73a–b), or—more frequently—by *da* + N (73c–g). This is possible when the two nouns connected by the preposition have a relational meaning.⁴⁵

(73) a. *canti del pòpolo*⁴⁶
 songs of-the people
 ‘popular songs’

b. *grupo del sangue*⁴⁷
 group of-the blood
 ‘blood group’

c. *òm dabèn*
 man from-good
 ‘honest man’

d. *Madòna da spàsem*⁴⁸ (Aneggi 1984)
 Madonna from suffering
 ‘suffering Maria’

e. *el tubo dal fum*⁴⁹
 the tube from-the smoke
 ‘the oven tube’

f. *la padèla dai busi*⁵⁰ (Aneggi 1984)
 the pan from-the holes
 ‘the pan with holes’

double adjective (thus we can have forms like *noviènt* alone); see Marcato & Ursini (1998: 79). It should be noticed, however, that nowadays the superlative forms suffixed in *-iènt* are becoming rarer and rarer. See also § 6.2.2 for superlatives of adverbs.

45 Examples (73d–g) and (74a–b) repeat the examples (47) provided in § 5.2.3, where the uses of the preposition *da* are discussed in more detail.

46 It. *canti popolari*.

47 It. *gruppo sanguigno*.

48 It. *Madonna addolorata*.

49 It. *canna fumaria*.

50 It. *padella bucata*.

- g. *la mòsa da todésch*⁵¹ (Aneggi 1984)
 the mòsa from German
 'the German mus'

The adjectival use of 'da + infinitive' corresponding to the suffix *-able* (74) is frequent:⁵²

- (74) a. *èrba da magnàr* (Aneggi 1984)
 grass from eat
 'edible grass/grass that must be eaten'
- b. *na putèla da maridàr*
 a young.woman from marry
 'a nubile young woman/ a girl who must be married'

Finally, a certain number of adjectives are expressed in CT by a relative clause (75a–c):

- (75) a. *l'an che vèn*
 the-year that comes
 'next year'
- b. *la stòria che vèn dòpo*
 the novel that comes after
 'the sequel'
- c. *la stòria che vèn prima*
 the novel that comes before
 'the preceding novel'

⁵¹ It. *mosa tedesca*.

⁵² As the translation shows, the phrases given in (74) are ambiguous between a possibility and a deontic reading: edible grass means grass that can be eaten/must be eaten; a nubile young woman means a young unmarried woman, who can be married/who must be married. The correct interpretation is based on the situational and discursive context.

Morphology and Syntax of Personal Pronouns

In this chapter we deal with personal pronouns in CT. In this dialect, as in most Romance languages, two systems of personal pronouns coexist: free (or stressed) pronouns and clitic (or unstressed) pronouns (§ 4.1). The latter in particular present a certain number of special properties. The most evident is the presence of subject clitics, which are not attested in Italian, or in any other standard Romance pro-drop language.

Subject clitics co-occur with different types of subject: in § 4.2 we illustrate their co-occurrence with silent subjects, DPs, pronouns, quantifiers, inverted subjects and subjective sentences. Another type of subject clitic attested in CT is the impersonal *se*, which is dealt with in § 4.3, where we show that this clitic can alternate with 1st plural, 2nd singular or 3rd plural person pronouns, yielding an impersonal interpretation.

§ 4.4 also examines subject clitics, focusing on their co-occurrence with wh-subjects in interrogative sentences. In § 4.5 we discuss the occurrence of subject and object clitics in several types of relative clause (restrictive, non-restrictive, pseudo-relative) and in cleft sentences.

Direct and indirect pronominal objects are presented in §§ 4.6 and 4.7 respectively: we highlight the fact that a stressed object pronoun in the 1st and 2nd person must always co-occur with an object clitic, which agrees with it in person, gender, and number. Doubling is also required by the dative, irrespective of the person and the type of complement (free pronoun or DP). Finally, we discuss the use of the clitic *ghe* that expresses locatives and introduces existential and presentational sentences.

Reflexive, like personal, pronouns (§ 4.8) may be either free (stressed) or clitic (unstressed): in both cases, when they are in the 1st or 2nd person they present the same form as personal pronouns; when a clitic reflexive pronoun is in the 3rd person, however, it occurs as *se*, for the singular and plural of both direct and dative objects. When the reflexive is a stressed 3rd person pronoun, a clitic *se* must occur and the verb is followed by the corresponding free personal pronoun.

After illustrating the different forms used in the CT pronominal system to express personal and reflexive clitic pronouns, in § 4.9 we present the order in which these occur when they are part of a clitic cluster (a sequence of clitics).

Finally, in § 4.10 we illustrate the use of allocutive pronouns (2nd person singular and plural, 3rd person singular) to express familiarity or respect.

TABLE 28 First person free pronouns and clitics

	1st sg. free	1st sg. proclitic	1st sg. enclitic	1st pl. free	1st pl. proclitic	1st pl. enclitic
subject	<i>mì^a</i>	//	<i>-nte^b</i>	<i>nói/ noialtri</i>	//	<i>-te^c</i>
direct object	<i>mi</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>nói/ noialtri</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ne</i>
dative/indirect object	<i>a mi</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>a nói/ a noialtri</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ne</i>
P + indirect object	<i>con mi</i>	//	//	<i>con nói/ con noialtri</i>	//	//

- a Aneggi (1984) registers the form *mìve* (It. ‘io, me, mì’; ‘I, me’). Only few old people still use this stressed emphatic pronoun, in which *ve* might derive from the same Latin deictic adverb (1B1) of the locative adverbs *chive* and *live* ((*Sónte mive en quéla fóto?* ‘Am I on that picture?’), cf. § 6.2.
- b Used in interrogative direct sentences; see also §§ 4.4 and 10.3, and Cordin (2018).
- c Used in interrogative direct sentences; see also §§ 4.4 and 10.3, and Cordin (2018).

4.1 The Forms of Free Pronouns and Clitics

Like most Romance languages, Trentino has both stressed (or free) personal pronouns and non-stressed (or clitic) personal pronouns.¹ Clitics can occupy two positions with respect to the verb: proclitics precede verbal [+finite] forms (other than imperative ones) and enclitics follow verbal [-finite]² and imperative forms. Subject clitics are post-verbal in direct interrogative sentences with [+finite] verbs.

In Tables 28 and 29 we present the CT 1st and 2nd person pronominal forms, both singular and plural, used for subjects, direct objects, datives and indirect objects (with and without a preposition).

1 Many comparative data on pronouns and clitics in various Italian dialects are provided in Manzini&Savoia (2005).

2 However, Aneggi (1984) registers the two following examples, where one or even two clitics precede the infinitive verb: *ghe far la barba*, lit. ‘to him.CL to do the beard’, *a ghela far* lit. ‘to to him.CL it to do’ ‘to shave him’.

TABLE 29 Second person free pronouns and clitics

	2nd sg. free	2nd sg. proclitic	2nd sg. enclitic	2nd pl. free	2nd pl. proclitic	2nd pl. enclitic
subject	<i>ti</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>-t^a</i>	<i>vói/ voialtri</i>	//	//
direct object	<i>ti</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>vói/ voialtri</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>ve</i>
dative/indirect object	<i>a ti</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>a vói/ a voialtri</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>ve</i>
P + indirect object	<i>con ti</i>	//	//	<i>con vói/ con voialtri</i>	//	//

a Used in direct interrogative sentences.

Note that free pronouns are used for all functions, while clitics, as expected, are absent after a preposition. Moreover, as shown in Tables 28 and 29, proclitics are absent for all subjects other than the 2nd person singular (which has the highest number of clitic forms); the 2nd person plural (with the lowest number of clitic forms) has neither proclitic nor enclitic subject forms. Comparing proclitic and enclitic forms, we see that there are more of the latter, as also attested in many other Northern Italian dialects.³

For each person, the same proclitic form ending in the vowel *-e* is used for direct objects, datives, and proclitic subjects (when present). In the case of enclitic pronouns, subject clitics differ from direct and indirect objects. In particular, according to Rohlfs (1968), the ending *-te*—used for 1st persons—is the result of an assimilation of the 1st plural person (*sén, són*) with the 3rd plural person (*sónt*) before a clitic (*e/ne*). In his opinion, the process started with the 1st plural person of the verb *èsser* ‘to be’, then extended to other common verbs and to the 1st person singular.

The CT forms *mi* and *ti* derive from the Latin dative forms *MIHI, TIBI*.⁴ Two different forms are available for the 1st and 2nd plural person free pronouns,

3 See Renzi & Vanelli (1983). According to Poletto (1993b), however, subject enclitics and subject proclitics cannot be considered as structurally equivalent pronouns, being distinct in number and morphology.

4 Rohlfs (1968, §§ 453 and 608).

TABLE 30 Third person free pronouns and clitics

	3rd sg. free		3rd sg. proclitic		3rd sg. enclitic		3rd pl. free		3rd pl. proclitic		3rd pl. enclitic	
	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.
subject	<i>élo</i>	<i>éla</i>	<i>el/l</i>	<i>la/l</i>	<i>-lo</i>	<i>-la^a</i>	<i>lóri</i>	<i>lóre</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-le^b</i>
direct object	<i>élo/lu</i>	<i>éla</i>	<i>lo/l</i>	<i>la/l</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>lóri</i>	<i>lóre</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>li/i</i>	<i>le</i>
dative/indirect <i>a</i> object	<i>a élo/lu</i>	<i>a éla</i>	<i>ghe/gh</i>		<i>ghe/gh</i>		<i>a lóri</i>	<i>a lóre</i>	<i>ghe/gh</i>		<i>ghe/gh</i>	
indirect <i>de/da/partitive</i> object	<i>de élo/lu</i>	<i>de éla</i>	<i>en/n/ne</i>		<i>n/ne</i>		<i>de lóri</i>	<i>de lóre</i>	<i>en/n/ne</i>		<i>n/ne</i>	
P + indirect object	<i>con élo/lu</i>	<i>con éla</i>	//		//		<i>con lóri</i>	<i>con lóre</i>	//		//	

a Used in direct interrogative sentences.
b Used in direct interrogative sentences.

since in CT, as in many Romance languages and dialects, *altri* (‘others’) can be added to full pronouns *nói/vói*. Originally, the adjective was used for emphasis in discourse, as it explicitly contrasted either the addressee and the speaker (1st person), or the addressee and other people (2nd person) to one or more other persons. In CT, the emphatic meaning has been lost and *noialtri*, *voialtri* are now perceived as “rustic” synonyms of *nói, vói*.

Table 30 shows the 3rd person singular and plural pronouns used for subjects, direct objects, datives and indirect objects.

As expected, no clitic appears after a preposition. For all the other functions, 3rd person pronouns always present free pronouns along with both proclitic and enclitic forms.

The enclitic, but not the proclitic, forms have a complete series of clitics, as attested in many other Northern Italian dialects.⁵

There are only two free feminine forms: the singular *éla* and the plural *lóre*. Free masculine forms are three: *élo* and *lu* alternate for the singular person, while *lóri* is the only form for the plural person. Feminine clitic forms are: *la/l* for singular subjects and direct objects,⁶ *le* for plural subjects and direct objects, *ghe/gh* (< lat. *ILLI*)⁷ for datives and for other indirect objects corresponding to

5 Renzi & Vanelli (1983).
6 *La* occurs before a consonant, *l* before a vowel.
7 Rohlfs (1968: § 459).

$a + N$.⁸ Masculine clitic forms are: *el/l* for proclitic subjects,⁹ *lo* for enclitic subjects and direct objects, *lo/l* for proclitic direct objects,¹⁰ *ghe/gh* for datives and other indirect objects corresponding to $a + N$.¹¹

For 3rd person indirect objects corresponding to *de/da* 'of/from' + N, locatives, existential and presentational forms the clitics *en/n/ne* (< lat. INDE¹²) and *ghe/gh* (the same form used for datives) are used.¹³ There is no clitic for 1st and 2nd person indirect objects corresponding to *de/da* 'of/from' + N.

4.2 Subject Clitics

CT allows for the subject to be phonologically unexpressed. However, CT has subject clitics for all persons other than the 2nd plural, as illustrated in § 4.1.¹⁴ It is now generally accepted¹⁵ that subject clitics have the same function as agreement morphology, namely that of identifying the person and number features of the null subject.¹⁶

Subject clitics do not occur in either Italian or other standard Romance languages,¹⁷ but are attested in all Trentino dialects and in other Northern and Central Italian dialects.¹⁸ The CT subject clitics given in Tables 28–30 must always appear when no lexical subject is expressed (1a–h):

- (1) a. *Vènionte?*
 I.come.CL
 'Should I come?'

8 *Ghe* occurs before a consonant, *gh* before a vowel.

9 *El* occurs before a consonant, *l* before a vowel.

10 *Lo* occurs before a consonant, *l* before a vowel.

11 *Ghe* occurs before a consonant, *gh* before a vowel.

12 Rohlfs (1968: § 465).

13 '*n*' is the reduced form of the enclitic when it occurs after *ghe* (*parlarghen* 'to talk to him of it' vs. *parlarne* 'to talk about it').

14 See also § 8.1.1.

15 Starting from Brandi & Cordin (1981 and 1989).

16 See also § 8.1.1.

17 Although subject clitics also occur in standard French, they are structurally different from CT ones, being true subjects, which do not have the same function as agreement morphology; see § 8.1.1.

18 Renzi & Vanelli (1983).

- b. *Te vègni con mi.*
 you.CL come with me
 'You come with me.'
- c. *Vègnet con mi?*
 come=you.CL with me
 'Will you come with me?'
- d. *El/la vèn con mi.*
 he/she.CL comes with me
 'He/she comes with me.'
- e. *Vègnel(o)/la con mi?*
 comes=he/she.CL with me
 'Will he/she come with me?'
- f. *Vegninte con ti?*
 come=we.CL with you
 'Should we come with you?'
- g. *I/le vèn con mi.*¹⁹
 they.M.CL/they.F.CL come with me
 'They come with me.'
- h. *Vègnei/le con mi?*
 come=they.M.CL/they.F.CL with me
 'Will they come with me?'

When two sentences have the same null subject and are coordinated, the subject clitic must appear with each verb:

- (2) a. *La parla e la béve.*
 she.CL talks and she.CL drinks
 'She talks and drinks.'
- b. **La parla e béve.*
 she.CL talks and drinks
 'She talks and drinks.'

¹⁹ As examples (1d) and (1g) show, in CT the verb has the same form in the 3rd singular and in the 3rd plural person (see also §§ 7.1. and 8.1).

In coordinated sentences one subject clitic can occur alone only when the coordinated verbs have the same verbal root:

- (3) *La fa e (la) rifà el lèt tute le matine.*
 she.CL makes and she.CL re-makes the bed all the mornings
 'She makes and re-makes the bed every morning.'

Meteorological verbs require a 3rd singular impersonal subject clitic, which has no argumental value (4a–b):

- (4) a. *El piòve.*
 it.CL rains
 'It rains.'
- b. *L'a nevegà tuta la nòt.*
 it.CL-has snowed all the night
 'It snowed during all night.'

However, no [-argumental] clitic occurs in impersonal constructions with verbs like *esser* 'to be' and *parer* 'to seem' (5a–b), unless the form of the verb *esser* begins with a vowel (5 c):

- (5) a. *Saria mèio così.*
 would.be better so
 'It would be better in such a way.'
- b. *Par mèz di*
 seems middle day
 'It seems [to be] midday.'
- c. *L'era tardi.*
 it.CL-was late
 'It was late.'

We note that in CT some impersonal constructions require a singular feminine subject clitic referring to a generic/indefinite feminine subject, such as *còsa* 'thing' or *qualcosa* 'something', as illustrated in the examples (5 d–f):²⁰

²⁰ See Rohlfs (1968: § 450). A singular feminine object clitic that receives a similar imper-

- d. *La va mal ancòi.*
 she.CL goes badly today
 'Something is going wrong today.'
- e. *La finirà prima o dòpo.*
 she.CL will.finish sooner or later
 'This will finish sooner or later.'
- f. *No l'è véra!*
 not she.CL-is true
 'It is not true!'

Subject clitics must also be expressed when the preverbal subject is a noun phrase (6a), or a pronoun (6b–c):²¹

- (6) a. *La mama la laóra tut el dì.*
 the mummy she.CL works all the day
 'Mummy works all the day long.'
- b. *Éla la laóra tut el dì.*
 she she.CL works all the day
 'She works all the day long.'
- c. *Ti te laóri tut el dì.*
 you you.CL work all the day
 'You work all the day long.'

Quantifiers (both pronouns and adjectives) in preverbal subject position also co-occur with subject clitics (7a–b).

- (7) a. *Tanti (amizzi) i m'a dit che són brava.*
 many (friends) they.CL me.DAT.CL-have told that I.am good
 'Many (friends) have told me that I am good.'

sonal interpretation occurs in Italian, in examples such as *farla finita*, *piantarla*, *smetterla* 'to stop it', *cercarsela* 'to look for it (a trouble)', *svignarsela*, *darsela a gambe* 'to run away, to slink off'. In CT the corresponding examples also present a singular feminine object clitic.

21 This is true for the persons that have a corresponding subject clitic; see Tables 28–30 and § 8.1.

- b. *Tuti (i putèi) i dis che sòn bèla.*
 all the boys they.CL say that I.am beautiful
 'All the boys say that I am beautiful.'

The only exception is the negative quantifier *nissun/nessun/nissuni/nessuni* 'nobody', with which the use of the subject clitic seems not to be obligatory.²²

- c. *Nesun è vegnù en tèmp.* (Sover, Asit, neg. quantifiers, 1)
 nobody is come in time
 'Nobody was on time.'
- d. *Nessun me capìs.*
 nobody me.CL understands
 'Nobody understands me.'

CT allows the so-called 'free' inversion of the nominal subject, a construction typical of pro-drop languages.²³ It occurs in sentences that introduce a new event (presentational constructions), where the lexical subject follows the verb

22 Northern Italian varieties differ among them on the distribution of subject clitics. The variation is organised around an implicational scale that goes from variables (at the leftmost side) to DP subjects and full pronouns (at the rightmost side), and has quantifiers in the middle. If subject clitics are used with one of element of the scale, they will also be used with all those that are on its right. CT uses clitics with DP subjects and full pronouns, while with quantifiers—which are on the left side of DP subjects—data are non-homogeneous (see § 8.1.1). Notably, in some Trentino localities, close to the central dialectal area, the same speaker (in the following examples both speaker 2 and speaker 3) may produce non-homogeneous data:

- a. *Nissuni i è arivadi en tèmp.* (Aldeno2, Asit, neg. quantifiers, 1)
 nobody they.CL are arrived in time
 'Nobody was on time.'
- b. *Nissuni a magnà la minestra.* (Aldeno2, Asit, neg. quantifiers, 5)
 nobody has eaten the soup
 'Nobody ate the soup.'
- c. *Nessuni i faga niente.* (Aldeno3, Asit, neg. quantifiers, 24)
 nobody they.CL do.SBJV nothing
 'Nobody do anything!'
- d. *Nessuni lo deve vardar.* (Aldeno3, Asit, neg. quantifiers, 28)
 nobody him.CL must watch
 'Nobody can watch him.'

23 See Chomsky (1981) and Rizzi (1982). The cluster of properties traditionally associated with the pro-drop parameter is illustrated in Casalichio & Cognola (2018). On clitic inversion in Northern Italian dialects, see Poletto (1993a, 2000).

(usually an unaccusative or an intransitive verb) and appears on the right side of the sentence. In CT free inversion constructions, subject clitics do not occur with 3rd persons (8a–c), unless the verb is copulative *èsser* ‘to be’ in a form having an initial vowel (8d–e).²⁴ It should be noted that, when the clitic is absent, the past participle does not agree with the post-verbal subject in number or gender (8a):²⁵

- (8) a. *Mèrcol è vegnù la mama / éla.*
 Wednesday is come the mummy she
 ‘On Wednesday, mummy/she came.’
- b. *È scomenzià la scòla.* (Sover, VinKo, 167, 42)
 is started the school
 ‘The school has started.’
- c. *Ne diseva i nossi veci che ...* (Gabrielli 1941, 83)
 us.CL told the our elders that
 ‘Our elders told us that ...’
- d. *L’è bèla to sorèla.*
 she.CL-is beautiful your sister
 ‘Your sister is beautiful.’
- e. *I è za grandi i pòpi.*
 they.CL are already grown.up the children
 ‘The children are grown up.’

Subject clitics are also omitted when the following subordinate clause is the subject of the main sentence (9 a–d). Again, when the main verb is a form of the verb *èsser* ‘to be’ that begins in a vowel, a 3rd singular person subject clitic occurs (9e):

- (9) a. *Bisòn pagàr le tasse.* (Sover, VinKo, 167, 28)
 is.necessary pay the fees
 ‘It is necessary to pay the fees.’

24 However, we also register some examples where a subject clitic co-occurs with a post-verbal subject, such as: *no te par che la diga anca ela* (Gabrielli 1941, 87) ‘don’t you think that she says it too?’.

25 See also § 8.1.

- b. *Tóca partìr bonóra.*
 is.necessary leave early
 'It is necessary to leave early.'
- c. *Saria mèio che i veciòti i bévia de*
 would.be better that the elderly they.CL drink.SBJV of
pu. (Cembra, ALD-II, 545–546)
 more
 'It would be better if the elderly drank more.'
- d. *Pòl darse / èser che l sia*
 it.may give-se be that he.CL is.SBJV
òrbo. (Trento 2, ALD-II, 92–93)
 blind
 'He may be blind.'
- e. *L'è mèio finirla ch'ì.*
 it.CL is better stop-her.CL here
 'It is better to stop it here.'

Finally, it should be noted that in free inversion sentences the 2nd person singular subject clitic occurs before the verb, when the subject is in the 2nd singular person (10):

- (10) *Te vègni ti.*
 you.CL come you
 'You come.'

4.3 *Se* Impersonal Subject

CT impersonal subjects can be expressed using different forms:²⁶ a pronominal personal subject in the 1st person plural (11a), in the 3rd person plural (11b), or in the 2nd person singular (11c), or a lexical subject, such as *la zènt* 'people' (11d), or the impersonal subject clitic *se* (11e–f):²⁷

²⁶ See also § 8.3.

²⁷ See also § 8.3.2. The impersonal clitic *se* presents the same properties as the other subject clitics, with the exception of the interrogative inversion: unlike the other subject clitics, the impersonal subject *se* never follows a finite verb. For a comparison with the syntax of

- (11) a. *Ne endormenzén prést.*
 us.CL we.fall.asleep early
 'We fall asleep early.'
- b. *Chì, i bara sèmpre.*
 here they.CL cheat always
 'Here they always cheat.'
- c. *Se te córi massa, i te dà la multa.*
 if you.CL run too.much they.CL you.DAT.CL give the penalty
 'If you drive too fast, they fine you.'
- d. *La zènt chì la bara sèmpre.*
 the people.F.SG here she.CL cheats always
 'People here always cheat.'
- e. *Ne l'an del '48 se podeva nar de troto.* (Gabrielli 1941, 83)
 in the-year of-the '48 se could go of hurry
 'In 1848 we could hurry along.'
- f. *Se dòrme bèn en sto lèt.*
 se sleeps well in this bed
 'We can sleep well in this bed.'

As mentioned before, *se* never inverts in direct questions. It has 3rd person plural masculine features, as illustrated by the examples (12 a–b), where the adjectives referring to the impersonal subject *se* show these features:

- (12) a. *Na vòlta s'èra bònì anca de taser.*
 a time se-was able.M.PL also of be.silent
 'Once, people could also hold their tongues.'
- b. *Quando che se devènta vèci, se bróntola sèmpre.*
 when that se become older.M.PL se complain always
 'When people become older, they always complain.'

the Italian *sì*, see Manzini (1986) and D'Alessandro (2007); for a comparison with the syntax of the Piedmontese *se*, see Parry (1998b).

Impersonal constructions with a *se* subject can have either a generic or an indefinite interpretation:²⁸ in the first case (illustrated in the examples (12 a–b)) *se* refers to a generic subject; in the second, to the subject of a particular, single event, yielding an indefinite interpretation (11f).

Where *se* occurs with a transitive verb and a preverbal DP (13), the interpretation of the sentence is usually impersonal (13a). A passive interpretation (13b) is rarely accepted.

- (13) a. *La polènta se la magna con i fónghi.*
 the polenta *se* her.CL eats with the mushrooms
 ‘People eat polenta with mushrooms.’

- b.*? *La polènta la se magna con i fónghi.*
 the polenta her.CL *se* eats with the mushrooms
 ‘Polenta is eaten with mushrooms.’

In the first case, the DP is a preverbal dislocated object, *se* an impersonal subject and the clitic that agrees with the DP is an object clitic; in the second case, the DP is a preverbal subject, the clitic that agrees with the DP is a subject clitic, and *se* marks the passive construction.²⁹ Prosody and the order of the two clitics can help disambiguation.

Benincà (1984) and Pescarini (2013) show that the Venetan impersonal *se* can select both auxiliaries ‘to be’ and ‘to have’, as illustrated by examples such as: *Se zé magnà ben / Se ga magnà ben* (Vicenza) ‘People ate well’. According to Pescarini (2013, 392), different features of the impersonal subject determine the auxiliary alternation: in the dialect of Vicenza, the impersonal *se* can be a semi-argument, similar to the subject of meteorological verbs [-Nom], or an argument, similar to subject clitics [+Nom]. Regarding this proposal, we note that in CT sentences with impersonal *se* are extremely rare and marginal with a compound tense, both with the auxiliary *èsser* and *avér*.

4.4 Subject Clitics in Interrogative Sentences

In CT direct interrogative sentences, a subject clitic must follow the fleeted verb when no lexical subject is expressed, with the exception of the 2nd plural person:

²⁸ See § 8.3.2.

²⁹ See § 8.3.2.

- (16) a. *Còsa suzéde?*
 what happens
 'What is happening?'
 b. *Chi vèn domàn?*
 who comes tomorrow
 'Who will come tomorrow?'
 c. *Che putèi è vegnù con ti?*
 which boys is come with you
 'Which boys have come with you?'
 d. *Che grana è capità ancòi?*
 what trouble is happened today
 'What trouble has arrived today?'

The verb *èsser* 'to be' is an exception: all its forms co-occur with a subject clitic (17a–b):

- (17) a. *Cós'èlo sto rumór?*
 what-is=it.CL this noise
 'What is it this noise?'
 b. *Quante putèle èrele?*
 how.many girls were-they.CL
 'How many girls were there?'

In embedded interrogative sentences, subject clitics precede the verb when the question has a null subject (18a) or a pre-verbal subject (18b), but they do not occur with either lexical post verbal subjects (18c–d), or *wh*-subjects (18e–f), even when the verb is *èsser* 'to be' (18g):

- (18) a. *No sò se la resterà.*
 not I.know if she.CL will.stay
 'I do not know if she will stay.'
 b. *No sò se la Maria la resterà.*
 not I.know if the Maria she.CL will.stay
 'I do not know if Mary will stay.'

- c. *No sò se resterà qualchedùn / la Maria.*
 not I.know if will.stay anybody the Maria
 'I do not know if anybody/ Maria will stay.'
- d. *No sò ndó che narà tuta sta zènt / me mama.*
 not I.know where that will.go all these people my mum
 'I do not know where all these people/my mother will go.'
- e. *No sò còsa che capiterà ancora.*
 not I.know what that will.happen more
 'I do not know what more can happen.'
- f. *No sò chi che resterà.*
 not I.know who that will.stay
 'I do not know who will stay.'
- g. *No sò chi che è pù bravo a far i cònti.*
 not I.know who that is more good at do the sums
 'I do not know who is the best at counting.'

4.5 Clitics in Relative Clauses

In restrictive relative clauses, which are introduced by *che*, the syntactic role of the antecedent is specified by a clitic that agrees with the antecedent in gender and in number (19a–b):³³

- (19) a. *El Mario l'è nòm che te ghe dai fiducia.*
 the Mario he.CL-is a-man that you.CL him.DAT.CL give trust
 'Mario is a man whom you can trust.'
- b. *El Mario l'è nòm che tuti i ne parla bèn.*
 the Mario he.CL-is a-man that all they.CL of.him.CL speak well
 'Mario is a man of whom everyone speaks well.'

However, when the relativized element is a direct object, no subject clitic occurs (20a). The same is true when the relativized element is a 3rd person

33 See § 9.4.1.

subject (20b), unless the verb of the relative clause is a form of *èsser* 'to be' beginning with a vowel (20c).

- (20) a. *Ò crompà quatro libri che vòì regalàr.*
 I.have bought four books that I.wish give.as.presents
 'I have bought four books that I wish to give as presents.'
- b. *Ò crompà quatro libri che parla de politica.*
 I.have bought four books that talk of politics
 'I have bought four books on politics.'
- c. *Ò crompà quatro libri che i èra d'ocasion*
 I.have bought four books that they.CL were of-sale
 'I bought four books that were on sale.'

In both non-restrictive relative clauses (21a) and (21c), and pseudo-relatives (21b),³⁴ the antecedent (subject or object) is referred to by a clitic:

- (21) a. *El Mario, che'l spuzzava, finalménte el s'a lavà.*
 the Mario that-he.CL smelled at.last he.CL se-has washed
 'Mario, who smelled, at last took a bath.'
- b. *El Mario l'è tornà a casa che 'l spuzzava.*
 the Mario he.CL-is come.back to home that he.CL smelled
 'Mario came home smelling.'
- c. *El Mario, che'l zerchévo da pù de n'óra,*
 the Mario that-him.CL I.looked.for from more than an-hour
l'era ent'el òrt.
 he.CL-was in-the garden
 'Mario, whom I had been looking for more than an hour, was in the garden.'

In cleft sentences, where a copular clause containing a focus is followed by an embedded clause introduced by *che* 'that',³⁵ an impersonal subject clitic occurs with the copula when it is expressed by a form with an initial vowel (22a):

34 See § 9.4.2.

35 See § 9.4.3.

- (22) a. *L'è en Sicilia che vòì nar en vacanza*
 it.CL-is in Sicily that I.want go on holidays
 'It is Sicily that I want to go to for my holidays.'

When the focalised element is a subject or a direct object, the subject clitic and the copula share the same person, number and gender features (22b–c):

- b. *Te sei ti che te vòì nar via.*
 you.CL are you that you.CL want go away
 'YOU want to leave.'
- c. *Le è lóre che te hai conossù ala fèsta.*
 they.F.CL are they.F that you.CL have met at-the party
 'They are the ones you met at the party.'

CT has a strong tendency to transform wh-questions into cleft questions, splitting interrogative sentences into a wh-copular question and an embedded clause (cf. § 9.4.3). In these constructions an optional impersonal clitic can occur after the copula; in the embedded clause no subject proclitic occurs when the wh-item is subject (23a vs. 23b):

- (23) a. *Chi è(l/lo) che vèn?*
 who is=he.CL that comes
 'Who is coming?'
- b. *Cos' è(l/lo) che'l fa?*
 what is=it.CL that-he.CL does
 'What is he doing?'

4.6 Free Pronouns and Clitics as Direct Objects

As Tables 28–30 in § 4.1 show, both clitics and free pronouns can function as direct and indirect objects. In some contexts, however, clitic objects cannot occur (after a preposition, in the coordination of two objects, with the ellipsis of the verb). The choice between a free and a clitic pronoun depends on the emphasis that the object receives in the sentence: an emphasized object is realised as a free pronoun, a non-marked object is realised as a clitic (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999).

When a direct object is realised as a free pronoun, in the 1st or 2nd person it is doubled by a clitic on the verb (24a–d); when it is in the 3rd person no clitic occurs (24e vs. 24e’):

- (24) a. *El *(me) ciama sèmpre mi.*
 he.CL me.CL calls always me
 ‘He always calls ME.’
- b. *El *(te) ciama sèmpre ti.*
 he.CL you.CL calls always you
 ‘He always calls YOU.’
- c. *El *(ne) ciama sèmpre nòi/noialtri.*
 he.CL us.CL calls always us
 ‘He always calls US.’
- d. *El *(ve) ciama sèmpre vói/voialtri.*
 he.CL you.PL.CL calls always you.PL
 ‘He always calls YOU.’
- e. *El ciama sèmpre éla.*
 he.CL calls always her
 ‘He always calls HER.’
- e’.* *El la ciama sèmpre éla.*
 he.CL her.CL calls always her

The examples (24) highlight the asymmetry between the different persons of object pronouns: 1st and 2nd persons require object clitic doubling, but no object clitic doubling occurs with 3rd persons.³⁶

According to Kallulli (2016), clitic doubling can be considered a strategy of differential object marking, which is based on a universal grammar principle, namely the D-hierarchy (Kiparsky 2008), according to which the most definite elements are 1st, 2nd and 3rd person pronouns, followed by proper names, names referring to humans, names referring to animate elements and, finally, names referring to inanimate elements. The hierarchy is given in 25:

36 On clitic doubling see Poletto (2000) and (2006).

(25) 1Pro /2Pro/ 3Pro /Proper Noun-Kin term/Human/ Animate /Inanimate

In the examples (24) only 1st and 2nd person pronouns, which correspond to the two highest elements of the hierarchy, are differentially marked.³⁷

Past participles of transitive verbs agree in gender and number with the object clitic, as the examples (26a–b) illustrate.

(26) a. *El ne a ciamadi/*ciamà noialtri.*
 he.CL us.CL has called.M.PL/M.SG us
 'He has called us.'

b. *El le a ciamade/*ciamà.*
 he.CL them.F.CL has called.F.PL/F.SG
 'He has called them.'

4.7 Free Pronouns and Clitics as Datives and Indirect Objects

The asymmetry in clitic doubling, which has been noted for direct object pronouns, is not found with dative pronouns. In fact, as the examples (27a–c) show, all dative free pronouns (in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person) require the spelling out of a dative clitic on the verb.³⁸

(27) a. *El *(m') a parlà a mi.*
 he.CL me.DAT.CL has talked to me
 'He has talked to ME.'

b. *El *(t') a parlà a ti.*
 he.CL you.DAT.CL has talked to you
 'He has talked to YOU.'

c. *El *(gh') a parlà a éla.*
 he.CL her.DAT.CL has talked to her
 'He has talked to HER.'

Doubling is also required when the dative is a DP referring to a human, animate or inanimate object (28a–c):

37 See Benincà & Poletto (2005) for a discussion on the different features of the 1st and 2nd persons on the one hand and the 3rd person on the other.

38 Cordin (1993).

- (28) a. *El gh'a parlà ala Lucia.*
 he.CL her.DAT.CL-has talked to-the Lucia
 'He has talked to Lucia.'
- b. *El gh'a dat na peada al can.*
 he.CL him.DAT.CL-has given a kick to-the dog
 'He kicked the dog.'
- c. *El gh'a dat na peada ala tàola*
 he.CL her.DAT.CL-has given a kick to-the table
 'He kicked the table.'

The same form *ghe* used for 3rd person dative clitics is also used for expressing a different type of indirect object clitic, required by verbs such as *pensar* 'to think of'.³⁹ This clitic can occur either alone (29a), or doubling an indirect object pronoun (29b) or DP (29c–d). Doubling with an indirect object pronoun or an indirect object DP is obligatory.

- (29) a. *Ghe pénso sèmpre.*
 it.IND.OBJ.CL I.think always
 'I always think of it.'
- b. *Ghe pénso sèmpre a ti / éla / voialtri.*⁴⁰
 it.IND.OBJ.CL I.think always of you her you.PL
 'I always think of you/her/you.'
- c. *Ghe pénso sèmpre ala Maria.*
 it.IND.OBJ.CL I.think always to-the Maria
 'I always think of Maria.'
- d. **(Ghe) pénso sèmpre ala to fèsta.*
 it.IND.OBJ.CL I.think always of-the your party
 'I always think of your party.'

The clitic *ghe* is also used to express locatives, as in the examples (30a–b):

39 See Siller Runggaldier (1996).

40 It is worth noting that *ghe* is the only form used in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person. The fact that this clitic does not agree in person features with the DP/pronoun to which it refers seems to suggest that its origin is locative.

- (30) a. *No ghe vago pu.*
 not there.CL I.go again
 ‘I shall never go there again.’
- b. *La ghe méte sèmpre el bèch.*
 she.CL there.CL puts always the beak
 ‘She always interferes.’

The same clitic is also used to introduce the verb *èsser* ‘to be’ in existential and presentational constructions:

- (31) a. *Gh'è na vòlta en ré.*
 there.CL was a time a king
 ‘Once upon a time there was a king.’
- b. *Gh'è dó strade per nar a Canazei.*
 there.CL-are two roads for go to Canazei
 ‘There are two roads to Canazei.’
- c. *Gh'è la Maria che la sta mal.*
 there.CL is the Maria that she.CL is sick
 ‘There is Maria who is sick.’

Finally, *ghe* in CT has become a part of the verb *gavér* ‘to have’ meaning ‘to possess’ (32a) or used with a deontic meaning (32b). Clearly the locative in (32) has lost any semantic feature referring to direction; however it may express deictic features (see § 7.2.1.2):⁴¹

- (32) a. *Gò prèssa.*
 I.have haste
 ‘I am in a hurry.’
- b. *Gò da nar via.*
 I.have from go away
 ‘I have to leave.’

Another clitic—*ne*—is used to express different indirect objects (genitive and locative). It presents a number of variants: as a proclitic it is realised as *n*

41 In other Northern Italian dialects (Venetan dialects) *ghe* has also become a part of the verb *avére* used as an auxiliary (see Penello 2004).

or *en* or *ne*, as an enclitic it is realised as *n* or *ne* (see § 4.1). A function that it can realise is that of partitive, as in (33a–c):⁴²

- (33) a. *En védo tanti (de pòpi).*
 of.them.CL I.see many of children
 'I see many (children).'
- b. *En védo dói (de pòpi).*
 of.them.CL I.see two of children
 'I see two (children).'
- c. *El ne crómpa pòchi (de libri).*
 he.CL of.them.CL buys few of books
 'He buys few (books).'

The clitic *ne* can also express origin, as examples (34a–b) show:

- (34) a. *El volerìa venirghen fòra (dala malatìa).*
 he.CL would.want come=there.CL=from.it.CL out from-the illness
 'He would like to come out (of his illness).'
- b. *El volerìa tirarne fòra do bluse (dala stòfa).*
 he.CL would.want get=from.it.CL out two shirts from-the fabric
 'He would make two shirts (from this fabric).'

Note that the locative *ne* is less frequent than the locative *ghe*,⁴³ and is more commonly used with a figurative meaning (34c), than as a proper locative (34d):

- c. *No l sa cóme vegnirghen fòra (da sto afàr).*
 not he.CL knows how come=there.CL=from.it.CL out from this business
 'He does not know how to get out of this business.'

42 According to Penello (2004), the semantic nature of the partitive *ne* is essentially locative (precisely corresponding to an ablative locative, as its etymology suggests).

43 In Italian, too, the locative *ne* is stylistically more formal than the locative *ci* (see Cordin 2001).

- d. *?El vòl venirghen fòra (dal garage).*
 he.CL wants come=there.CL=from.it.CL out from-the garage
 'He wants to come out (of the garage).'

Further evidence for this is provided by the fact that verbs denoting origin formed with the clitic *se* followed by the clitic *ne* (such as *andarsene* 'to go away'), which are typical in Italian, never occur in CT. The corresponding dialectal verb is *nar via* 'to go away'.

Finally, the clitic *ne* (with its phonetic variants) is also used to express an indirect object—animate (35a), inanimate (35b), and pronominal (35c)—corresponding to *de* + N/pronoun 'of/about + N/pronoun', which is found especially after the verb *parlâr* 'to talk':

- (35) a. *I ne parla sèmpre bèn (de la Maria).*
 they.CL of.her.CL speak always well of the Maria
 'They always speak well (of Maria).'
- b. *Ghe 'n parlo domàn (del concòrso).*
 him/her.DAT.CL of.it.CL I.talk tomorrow of-the competition
 'I will talk to him/her/them tomorrow (about the competition).'
- c. *De ti, tute le compagne le 'n parla bèn.⁴⁴*
 of you all the friends they.CL of.you.CL speak well
 'Of you, all your friends speak well.'

With verbs other than *parlare* 'to talk', CT can—and even prefers to—omit the clitic, as examples (36 a–b) illustrate:

- (36) a. *-Passa dal medico! -Sicur. No me(n) desmentègo miga.*
 pass from-the doctor sure not me.CL(=of.it.CL) I.forget
miga
 '—Go to the doctor!—Sure! I won't forget.—'
- b. *-I a rôt la finèstra. -No m(en)*
 they.CL have broken the window not me.CL(=of.it.CL)

44 The fact that this clitic does not agree in person features with the DP/pronoun to which it refers is an additional piece of evidence that its origin is locative.

èro nascòrta.

I.was aware

‘—They broke the window.—I didn’t notice.’

4.8 Reflexive Pronouns

Reflexive pronouns, like personal pronouns, can be either free or clitic. In the 1st and 2nd singular and plural person they present the same forms as those given in Tables 28–29 for direct and indirect objects and for datives. The reflexive forms used in the 3rd singular and 3rd plural persons are illustrated in Table 31.

For 3d person reflexive clitics the form *se* alternates with the variant *s*, which occurs when the proclitic precedes a vowel: *se/s* is used for masculine and feminine, singular and plural pronouns, and for direct and indirect objects. The same form *se/s* is also used for reciprocal verbs; in this case it can be reinforced by the expression *l’un con l’altro* ‘each other’ (37a–b):

- (37) a. *I s’a sposadi do mési fa.*⁴⁵
 they.CL *se*-have married two months ago
 ‘They married two months ago.’

- b. *I se aiuta l’un con l’altro.*
 they.CL *se* help the-one with the-other
 ‘They help each other.’

Trentino dialects, including CT, are distinguished from Italian by the absence of a specific stressed form for third person reflexives (*sé stesso/-a/-i/-e*):⁴⁶ the post-verbal stressed pronoun, in fact, is formed by a personal free pronoun that mandatorily co-occurs with the clitic reflexive pronoun *se/s* with those verbs where the reflexive pronoun functions as an argument, either a direct object or a dative (38a–b):

- (38) a. *La Maria la se sèrve sèmpre éla per prima.*
 the Maria she.CL *se* helps always she for first
 ‘Maria always helps herself first.’

45 The auxiliary selection with reflexive verbs in CT is illustrated in § 8.2.2.1. See also Cordin (2009).

46 Manzini (1986).

TABLE 31 Reflexive third person free pronouns and clitics

	3rd sg. free		3rd sg. proclitic	3rd sg. enclitic	3rd pl. free		3rd pl. proclitic	3rd pl. enclitic
	m.	f.	m./f.	m./f.	m.	f.	m./f.	m./f.
direct object	<i>élo</i>	<i>éla</i>	<i>se/s</i> ^a	<i>se</i>	<i>lóri</i>	<i>lóre</i>	<i>se/s</i>	<i>se</i>
dative/indirect object	<i>a élo/lu</i>	<i>a éla</i>	<i>se/s</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>a lóri</i>	<i>a lóre</i>	<i>se/s</i>	<i>se</i>

a The form *se* precedes a consonant; the form *s* precedes a vowel.

b. *I se dà sól a lóri i prèmi pu bèi.*
they.CL *se* give only to them the prizes most nice
‘They only give themselves the best prizes.’

4.9 Clitic Clusters

When more clitics combine, their order in the sequence is not free. In clusters of proclitics the order is: subject clitic + dative clitic + non-dative indirect object clitic + direct object clitic. When a negative clitic *no* occurs, it precedes all the other clitics. The complete cluster is represented in (39a), and illustrated by examples (39b–e):

(39) a. negation + subject clitic⁴⁷ + dative clitic + indirect object clitic + object clitic

- b. *(No) te me la regali.*
(not) you.CL me.DAT.CL her.CL give
‘You (don’t) give it to me.’
- c. *(No) la ghe le prèsta.*
(not) she.CL him/her/them.DAT.CL them.F.CL lends
‘She (does not) lends them to him/her/them.’
- d. *(No) se gh'en vèn fōra.*
(not) *se* there.CL-of.it.CL comes out
‘People (cannot) come out of it.’

47 The impersonal subject *se* behaves like a subject clitic.

- e. (No) *la gh'en parla mai.*
 (not) she.CL him/her.DAT.CL-of.it.CL talks never
 She never talks to him of that.

Enclitic clusters following an infinitive of imperative verb present the same order as proclitics. Negations are always proclitic, as the examples (40 a–d) show:

- (40) a. (No) *te dévi regalàrmela.*
 (not) you.CL must give=me.DAT.CL=her.CL
 'You (don't) have to give it to me.'
- b. (No) *la déve prestàrghele.*
 (not) she.CL must lend=her/him/them.DAT.CL.=them.F.CL
 'She must (not) give them to him/her/them.'
- c. (No) *i déve vegnirghen fōra.*⁴⁸
 (not) they.CL must come=there.CL=of-it.CL out
 'They must (not) come out of it.'
- d. (No!) *magnàn!*
 not=it.OBJ.CL eat.SBJV
 'Let's (not) eat it!'

The sequences illustrated in (39) and in (40) are also valid for reflexive proclitics (41a) and enclitics (41 b):

- (41) a. (No) *i se la tòl.*
 (not) they.CL se her.CL take
 'They (don't) take it with them.'
- b. (No) *i déve tòrsela*
 (not) they.CL must take=se=her.CL
 'They must (not) take it with them.'

48 For the description of the clitic position in restructuring and causative constructions, see §8.2.3.

In interrogative sentences, as illustrated in § 4.4, the subject clitic follows the flexed verb; however, the order of indirect and direct object clitics is the same as the one illustrated above (see 42):

- (42) a. (No) *ghe la diset mai, la verità?*
 (not) him/her/them.DAT.CL her.CL tell=you.CL never the truth
 'Do you ((n)ever) tell him/her/them the truth?'
 b. (No) *te l'alo mostrà, el libro?*
 (not) you.DAT.CL it.CL-has=he.CL shown the book
 'Has he (not) shown you the book?'

When a finite phrasal verb is followed by a locative, such as *su* 'up', *zò* 'down', *fòra* 'out', *via* 'away', or by a locative requiring a dative clitic, such as *drio* 'behind', *encòntro* 'towards', *adòs* 'upon', the clitic always precedes the verb (43a–b). With imperative and non-finite verbal forms the order is: verb - clitic - locative (43c–d):⁴⁹

- (43) a. *El lo taia zó.*
 he.CL him.CL cuts down
 'He cuts it down.'
 b. *El ghe córe drio.*
 he.CL him/her/them.DAT.CL runs behind
 'He chases him/her/them.'
 c. *Vòi taiarlo via.*
 I.want cut=it.CL away
 'I want to cut it away.'
 d. *Vòi córenghe drio.*
 I.want run=him/her/them.DAT.CL behind
 'I want to chase him/her/them.'

49 See chapter 7.5. Interestingly, Tortora (2002) presents a different order for the dialect of Borgomanero.

4.10 Allocutive Pronouns

The choice of an allocutive pronoun is determined by: a) the context in which the conversation takes place (formal vs. informal); b) the type of relationship between the speaker and the addressee (familiar vs. non-familiar; symmetrical vs. asymmetrical).

Informal contexts and familiar relationships favour the use of the pronoun in the 2nd person singular. However, when the context is formal and the speaker is non-familiar or has a limited familiarity with the addressee, the 2nd plural person pronoun has traditionally been used throughout the Romance world, to mark allocutionary distance (Renzi 1997a). The use of the 2nd plural person still obtained when the speaker was considerably younger than the addressee, although familiar to him/her (i.e. children addressing older family members).

Nowadays, however, in most Italian dialects including CT,⁵⁰ the use of a polite 2nd person plural pronoun is rare: it is attested mainly among old people in rural villages (44a). Its use has been almost entirely replaced by the 3rd person singular, *élo/éla*, which penetrated dialects from Italian.⁵¹ Unlike Italian, all Northern dialects developed a gender distinction for the polite use of this pronoun: in CT we find *élo* for masculine and *éla* for feminine free pronouns, *el/lo/l* for masculine and *la/l* for feminine clitic forms (44b–e):

- (44) a. *Spetéme* *chì, per piazzér!*
 wait.IMP.2PL=me.CL here for favour
 ‘[You], wait for me here, please!’
- b. *Élo, el* *me* *spèta chì, per piazzér!*
 he he.CL me.CL waits here for favour
 ‘[You], wait for me here, please!’
- c. *Éla, la* *vènia* *con mi!*
 she she.CL comes.SBJV with me
 ‘[You], come with me!’
- d. *Siór dotór, vègnelo* *con mi?*
 Mr. doctor comes=he.CL with me
 ‘Doctor, will you come with me?’

⁵⁰ See Ledgeway (2015) and Irsara (2015).

⁵¹ The use of the polite pronoun *lei* was introduced into Italian during the XVI century Spanish domination (Renzi 1997a).

- e. *Suor Angela, vègnela con mi?*
 sister Angela comes=she.CL with me
 ‘Sister Angela, will you come with me?’

When a 2nd person plural pronoun is allocutive, both the past participle following the auxiliary verb *èsser* ‘to be’ and the adjective following the copula agree in gender and number with the addressee (45a–b).

- (45) a. *Quando che sé straca / *strache, disémelo!*
 when that you.are.PL tired.F.SG tired.F.PL say.me.CL-it.CL
 ‘When you feel tired, tell me!’
- b. *Nòno, sé za na / *nadi a méssa?*
 granny you.are.PL already gone.M.SG gone.M.PL to mass
 ‘Granny, have you already been to Mass?’

The use of a polite 3rd person plural pronoun corresponding to Italian *loro* to address more than one person is never attested in CT,⁵² where it is substituted by a 2nd person plural pronoun:

- (46) *Vegni con mi, siór e sióra Fedel!*
 come.IMP.2PL with me Mr. and Mrs. Fedel
 ‘Come with me, Mr. and Mrs. Fedel!’

⁵² See Da Milano (2015: 71).

Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases

This chapter deals with the inventory of prepositions in CT. As in many other languages, we distinguish between simple, derivative and compound prepositions. Simple prepositions can be isolated on both morphological and syntactic grounds. From a morphological point of view, simple prepositions cannot be split into smaller parts and do not derive from other categories; typologically, they are usually monosyllabic. From a syntactic point of view, they are functional prepositions that occur alone (i.e., without other prepositions).

Derivative and compound prepositions are considered lexical prepositions, and both are formed with other word categories (mainly adverbs). In the case of derivative prepositions, these elements are used alone and converted into prepositions (e.g., English *below*); in compound prepositions they occur with simple prepositions—in some case, also with more elements (as in English *on account of*). Derivative prepositions also occur in the ‘verb + locative’ construction (see § 7.5). The difference between derivative and compound prepositions is not always clear-cut in CT, since some derivative prepositions also occur as compound prepositions (e.g., *sóto* or *sóto a* ‘below’). Therefore, we discuss them together.¹

Sections 5.1–5.3 of this chapter focus on simple, and section 5.4 on derivative and compound, prepositions. Section § 5.1 discusses the inventory of simple prepositions in CT and their distribution in locative and temporal contexts. Section 5.2, on the other hand, deals with the other uses of simple prepositions.

Section 5.3 is devoted to comparative remarks, in which the syntax of CT prepositions is compared to that of two languages that are in contact with CT, and that nonetheless differ from it in some important aspects: Standard Italian (§ 5.3.1) and Venetan (§ 5.3.2). The comparison with Standard Italian allows us to highlight in particular the use of the preposition *da* (whose main meaning is ‘from’), which only exists in the Romance varieties spoken in Italy and in Romansh. The main difference between CT and Venetan, on the other hand, concerns the realization of the preposition *a*: we tackle this issue in detail because it represents a major difference with the neighboring Venetan dialects (including those spoken in the province of Trento). While in Venetan the *a* must

1 See Hagège (2010) for the distinction between simple, compound and derivative prepositions; Cinque (2010) for an overview of the generative literature tackling the issue of the ‘functional/lexical divide’.

be silent in a number of contexts, and can be dropped in others, in CT it is always realized, with the sole exception of the prohibitive *no star* + infinitive (which may be a borrowed construction from Venetan).

Section 5.4 discusses derivative and compound prepositions formed by an element like an adverb or noun and a simple preposition. While some cases are clear-cut (i.e. the preposition is either derivative or compound), other prepositions behave as both types. Other types of compound prepositions illustrated in this section are “preposition clusters”, in which two prepositions are used together. These clusters can be made up of two simple prepositions, or of a derivative preposition followed by a simple one (with a special meaning). CT also has some compound prepositions formed with other word categories, such as nouns (e.g. English *on account of*, CT *per via de* ‘because of’, lit. “for way of”), but their number is much smaller than in the languages with a formal register, such as Italian or French.

5.1 The Use of Simple Prepositions in Locative and Temporal Contexts

The inventory of CT simple prepositions is similar to that of most Romance languages: *a, con, de, da, en(t), per, su, (en)tra*: it completely overlaps with Italian, while it differs from Spanish and French in the existence of the preposition *da* and in the lack of a distinction between Sp. *para/por*, Fr. *pour/par*.

5.1.1 Locative Use

The prepositions used in locative phrases are *a, da, en(t), su, (en)tra*. As in Italian and French, the choice of the prepositions *a, en(t)* and *da* depends on the semantics of the complement, and there is no distinction between state in a place and movement towards a place:

a is used when the location is seen as a point or as an open geographical object (e.g. cities, villages, smaller islands, sea/lakeside):²

- (1) *nar / èsser ...*
 go be
 ... *a Trènt / a scòla / a Clés / a Cipro / al mar*
 at Trento at school at Cles at Cyprus at-the sea
 ‘go to / be in Trento / at school / in Cles / in Cyprus / by the sea’

2 As shown by Longobardi (1987) for Italian, the selection of either *a* or *in* obeys more complex principles, which seem to hold in CT as well. Since there seem to be no important differences, we refer the reader to Longobardi’s work.

TABLE 32 The simple prepositions of CT

Central Trentino preposition	Main English correspondent
<i>a</i>	at, to
<i>con</i>	with
<i>da</i>	from
<i>de</i>	of
<i>en(t)</i>	in
<i>per/par</i>	for
<i>su</i>	on
<i>(en) tra</i>	between

en(t) is used with locations that are seen either as more extensive, or as closed geographical objects (e.g. valleys, countries, bigger islands, forests, rivers, lakes), see (2). Note that some villages also take *en(t)*, because their toponym derives from a geographical object of this type: an example is the village of Piné (< PINETUM ‘pinewood’):³

- (2) *nar* / *èsser* ...
go be

3 Note that the forms *en* and *ent(e)* alternate phonologically (see Cordin, 2018): *ent* is generally used when the next word is an article that begins with a vowel or the numeral *un/una*, otherwise *en* occurs (examples from Cordin 2018: 60 fn. 18):

- (i) a. *Vago ent el vòlt.* / **Vago en el vòlt.*
I.go in the cellar I.go in the cellar
‘I go into the cellar.’
b. **La se cambia ent èrba* / *La se cambia en èrba.*
she.CL se changes in grass she.CL se changes in grass
‘It changes into grass.’

Note that the *-t* ending is etymological, since it goes back to the Latin preposition *INTUS*, and its retention seems to be the result of a more general phonological process in CT, in which the combination ‘nasal consonant—vowel’ favours the insertion of a (usually etymological) /t/. This happens with the 1st person clitic *-te* (Cordin 2018, and see § 4.2, 4.4, 10.4), and also with *quan(t)* (corresponding both to Italian *quanto* ‘how much’ and *quando* ‘when’), see also Quaresima (1964, s.v. ‘en’) for the Val di Non:

- (i) a. *quant èl che vas?* (Cembra, ALD-II 397)
when is=it.CL that you.go
b. *quan che vas?* (ibid.)
when that you.go
‘When are you going?’

... *en Val de Nòn / en Austria / ent el bòsch / ent el Ades /*
 in valley of Non in Austria in the wood in the Adige
en Piné
 in Piné
 'go to / be in the Non Valley / in Austria / in the woods / in the Adige river
 / in Piné'

da is used to express a number of locative values. Its basic meaning is ablative, since it refers to the origin (3), including with verbs that do not indicate a movement (4):

- (3) *vegnìr* ...
 come
 ... *da Trènt / da casa / da la staziòn / da me nòna /*
 from Trento from home from the station from my granny
da la Germania
 from the Germany
 'come from Trento / home / the station / my grandma's / from Germany'
- (4) *El Gino l'è da Trènt.*
 the Gino he.CL-is from Trento
 'Gino is from Trento.'

The example (3) shows that with a verb like *vegnìr*, *da* is used with all possible complements to indicate the origin. In (4) the origin is also expressed, but in this case with a stative verb ('be') that refers to the town of origin of Gino.

In addition to its basic meaning, *da* has a series of other locative values:

- i. the goal or location, whenever the complement of the preposition is animate (5);
- ii. the path, or the side along which a movement takes place (6);
- iii. a general reference to a place that is located near something (7).

- (5) *nar / èsser* ...
 go be
 ... *dal dotór / da la Maria / da me nòna / dai*
 from-the doctor from the Maria from my granny from-the
todéschi
 Germans
 'go to / be at the doctor / Maria's place / my grandma's / the Germans'

- (6) *I torna da la costa de Muralta.* (Alneri, 120)
 they.CL come.back from the ridge of Muralta
 ‘they come back along the ridge of Muralta.’
- (7) *Na not for da la Fersena [...] menava la*
 a night out from the Fersina I.brought the
morosa. (Nani, 190)
 fiancée
 ‘Once, at night, I brought my fiancée out [of the town] to a place near the river Fersina.’

In (5), the prepositional phrase is headed by *da* although the verb refers to a goal or a state. This is due to the fact that animate complements of prepositions require *da* instead of *a/en(t)* in these cases (cf. with **nar al dotór/*èsser ent el dotór*). The meaning of these prepositional phrases can be compared to English “at someone’s place/shop”, etc. The context of (6), on the other hand, is a walk taken by two older men from a place located above Trento (Martignano) to the city centre, which is down in the valley. Since there are different paths that they can take, the writer specifies that they come down from the side of Muralta, which is a ridge between the two localities. Finally, in (7) the location is described as being somewhere along the river Fersina, which, until the city expanded to engulf it, flowed past meadows and trees. No exact information about the place is given here. Note that here the preposition is preceded by the adverb *för* (‘out, outside’), representing the viewpoint from the centre of Trento (see § 6.3.2).

On the other hand, the choice of the other locative prepositions depends on the position of the subject in relation to the geographical object:

su is used when the location of the subject (in states or movements towards a place) is above a geographical object (e.g. mountains, lakes):

- (8) *sul Bondón / sul lago / sul tèt*
 on-the Bondone on-the lake on-the roof
 ‘on the Bondone mountain / on the lake / on the roof’

(*en*)*tra* is used to indicate a location that is between two points:

- (9) (*en*)*tra el pomàr e la casa / (en)tra le do case*
 between the apple-tree and the house between the two houses
 ‘between the apple tree and the house / between the two houses’

when there is an object that must be crossed, *per/par* is used:

- (10) *passàr per la pòrta*
 pass through the door
 'go out through the door'

Some complements are compatible with different locative prepositions. In the case of lakes and seas, for instance, *a*, *en(t)* and *su* can all be used (11). There is no free alternation between the preposition in any of these cases, because there are semantic differences. With *el lago* (11) the three prepositions *a*, *en* and *su* have different meanings. *A* is the most generic preposition: it refers to some place located close to the lake. *En(t)* and *su*, on the other hand, are more specific: the first is used to indicate that the water of the lake is cold. *Su* means that it is cold above the lake, e.g. if somebody is in a boat or ice-skating in winter.

- (11) *Al lago / ent el lago / sul lago l'è frèt la séra.*
 to-the lake in the lake on-the lake it.CL-is cold the evening
 'In the evening, it is cold at the lakeside / in the lake / on the lake.'

5.1.2 Temporal Use

Even in the case of temporal indications, preposition choice is usually similar to that of Italian or French, although there are some peculiarities of CT. The most important one is the widespread use of *da*, which is often used to refer to a general time point (as in the English 'around').

With hours of the day, either *a* or *da* is used. Usually, *a* indicates a precise moment (cf. English 'at'), while *da* can give either a precise or a more general indication:

- (12) a. *La Maria la vèn domàn ale dése.*
 the Maria she.CL comes tomorrow at-the ten

 b. *La Maria la vèn domàn dale dése.*
 the Maria she.CL comes tomorrow from-the ten
 'Maria's coming tomorrow at ten.'

- (13) *Da che óra vègnet domàn?*
 from what hour come-you.CL tomorrow
 'What time are you coming tomorrow?'

In (12a) Maria is expected to arrive at ten, while in (12b) her time of arrival is not specified: Maria may come at exactly 10 o'clock or around that time. Similarly, the question in (13) does not ask about the exact time, and the hearer may answer with varying degrees of precision.

Note that other Romance languages would use *verso* (Italian), *sobre/como a* (Spanish), *vers* (French) for an approximate time indication (12b)–(13).

With periods of the day (morning, evening), *de* is used. When the whole day is referred to, *da* is used:

- (14) *L'è vegnù de séra / de nòt / de matina / dal di.*
 he.CL-is come of evening of night of morning from-the day
 'He arrived in the evening / during the night / in the morning / during the day.'

- (15) Bruno: *Ma no stal en piazza de la Mostra?*
 but not stays=he.CL in place of the fair
 Guido: *Dal di sì, de not enveze el cambia domicilio.* (Sartori, 2004)
 from-the day yes, of night instead he.CL changes domicile
 Bruno: 'Doesn't he live in Piazza Mostra?' Guido: 'During the day he does, but during the night he changes his domicile.'

The list in (14) shows that *di* ('day') behaves differently than its parts. Note also that only *di* is preceded by the article here, while the other expressions are used without an article. The example in (15), taken from a drama written in CT, neatly shows the different prepositions used with *di* ('day') and *nòt* ('night').

With exact dates, the preposition *a* is traditionally used (16a) *a*. Nowadays a null preposition can also be used, probably due to Italian influence (16b):

- (16) a. *El s'è sposà ai vintiòto de lui ...* (Trento 1, ALD-II 24–27)
 he.CL se-is married at-the.PL twenty-eight of July
 b. *El s'a sposà el vintiòto de lulio ...* (Trento 2, *ibid.*)
 he.CL se-has married the twenty-eight of July
 'He got married on the twenty-eighth of July.'

Note that the grammatical number of the date changes according to the preposition used: with *a*, the article agrees with the number (*vintiòto*, ‘twenty-eight’) and is thus plural. In (16b) it is default singular, probably due to contact with Italian, where the same pattern occurs. In Italian the presence of the preposition *a* would be ungrammatical.

When a period of the year is referred to, *a* is used to refer to a specific moment, while *da* can indicate a more general reference to a period:

- (17) a. *A Nadàl vago sèmpre en Vèneto a trovàr i me parènti.*
 at Christmas I.go always in Veneto to visit the my relatives
 ‘On Christmas day I always go to the Veneto to visit my relatives.’
- b. *Da Nadàl vago sèmpre en Vèneto a trovàr i me parènti.*
 from Christmas I.go always in Veneto to visit the my relatives
 ‘During the Christmas period I always go to the Veneto to visit my relatives.’
- (18) *Da la ceriöla l’ors el varda föra.* (Aneggi 1984)
 from the Candlemas the-bear he.CL looks outside
 ‘At Candlemas the bear starts coming out.’

The first example in (17a) is usually chosen when it refers to Christmas day, while (17b) refers to the period of the Christmas holidays. Finally, (18) is a proverb from the Cembra valley, which points to a specific day of the year (the 2nd of February, day of Candlemas). However, the time indication is not considered precise, because the weather varies from year to year. Thus, this is a general reference to the first days of February, and a significant event is chosen to refer to an imprecise period.

With the days of the week, *de* or a phonologically unrealized preposition can be used. *De* seems to be preferred when a habitual event is referred to (e.g., every Sunday), while a phonologically unrealized preposition is used both when the event occurs just once or when it is habitual:

- (19) a. *De venerdì, el me dotór no l gh’è.*
 of Friday, the my doctor not he.CL there.CL-is
 ‘My doctor isn’t here on Fridays.’

- b. *El venerdì scórso el me dotór no l ghèra.*
 the Friday passed the my doctor not he.CL there.CL-was
 'Last Friday my doctor wasn't here.'

In (19a), the doctor is absent every Friday; the example in (19b), on the other hand, refers to a specific day, i.e. last Friday. In the latter example, the use of *de* would be ungrammatical.

When reference is made to a longer specific time period (a year or a month), *en(t)* is used (or the compound preposition *fòra per*, see section 5.4):

- (20) a. *Le vacanze de Pasqua le scomincia en marzo.*
 the holidays of Easter they.CL begin in March
 'The Easter holidays begin in March.'
- b. *Sta scòla chè, i l'a davèrta ent el 1989.*
 This school here, they.CL her.CL-have opened in the 1989
 'This school was opened in 1989.'

Da is used in the fixed expression *da sti ani* (lit. 'from these years'), to refer to an unspecified period in the past:

- (21) *Da sti ani, no i gavéva le màchine da mónzer.*
 from these years, not they.CL had the machines to milk
 'In those days, there were no milking machines.'

Nowadays, this expression has become fixed, meaning "in the old days" (see also section 5.3.1).

Finally, to refer to the duration of an event, *per* is used to indicate a general time span with atelic events when the event is concluded (22a), *da* when the event is still going on (22b), and *en(t)* for a time span with a completed event, referring either to the past or to the future (22c). In addition, *da* refers to a time span between a completed event and a reference time (22d):

- (22) a. *El Gigi l' a studià per do óre.*
 the Gigi he.CL has studied for two hours
 'Gigi studied for two hours.'

- b. *El Gigi el studia da do óre.*
 the Gigi he.CL studies from two hours
 ‘Gigi has been studying for two hours.’
- c. *El Gigi el finirà de studiàr ent en óra.*
 the Gigi he.CL will.finish of study in one hour
 ‘Gigi will finish studying in one hour.’
- d. *El Gigi l’ a finì de studiàr da do óre.*
 the Gigi he.CL has finished of study from two hours
 ‘Gigi finished studying two hours ago.’

The examples in (22) contain a durative atelic event: in (22a), the duration of the event is indicated: Mario has studied for two hours. In (22b), on the other hand, the event is still going on, and it started two hours ago. In (22c)–(22d), the matrix event reaches an endpoint/completion: in (22c) the Prepositional Phrase (‘PP’) indicates the time necessary to complete the event; in (22d) how much time has passed between the completion of the event and the reference time.

5.2 Other Uses of Simple Prepositions

Beyond their locative and temporal value, simple prepositions also have other meanings; CT shares some of them with other Romance languages, but it also presents some peculiarities. In this section we give an overview of the main meanings of CT prepositions other than locative and temporal.⁴

5.2.1 A

The basic value of *a* is “target of movement”, either concrete or metaphoric. Apart from its locative and temporal uses, it is especially used for indirect (dative) objects (23); moreover, it can indicate age (24), manner (25), and the benefactive/malefactive (26):

- (23) a. *Ghe dago n regal al Mario.*
 him.DAT.CL I.give a gift to-the Mario
 ‘I give a gift to Mario.’

⁴ For the use of prepositions as prepositional complementisers, see chapter 9.

- b. *Gò dit a la Maria de tòrme n tòch de pan.*
 her.DAT.CL-I.have told to the Maria of take=me a piece of bread
 'I told Maria to take some bread for me.'

- (24) *A trent'ani, no l'a gnancóra finì de studiàr.*
 at thirty-years not he.CL-has still.not finished of study
 'He's thirty years old and still hasn't finished studying.'

- (25) [*emparàr*] *a mént* (S. Michele, ALD-II 328)
 learn at mind
 'learn by heart'

- (26) *Béver massa vin no 'l fa bèn a nissuni.*
 drink.INF too.much wine not it.CL does well to nobody
 'Drinking too much is unhealthy for everyone.'

The preposition *a* is also selected by some adjectives that have the structure 'adjective + *a* + infinitive':

- (27) a. *I dis che l popolin [...] l'è fazile a lassarse*
 they.CL say that the simple.people he.CL-is easy to let=se
lusingar. (Felini, 149)
 flatter
 'They say that poor and simple people tend to be easily flattered.'

- b. *No són bòn a farlo.*
 not I.am good to do=it
 'I'm unable to do it.'

- c. *La saria ben longa a contarla.* (Nando da G., 175)
 she.CL would.be really long to tell=her.CL
 'It would take a really long time to tell [that story].'

The preposition that is typically selected by adjectives that require a 'P + complement' is *da* (see below, §5.2.3), but some adjectives, like those used in (27), are exceptions. In particular, *èsser fàzzile a* in (27a) and *èsser bòn a* in (27b) are fixed expressions in CT, with the meaning 'tend to' and 'be able to', respectively: consistently with this interpretation, in both cases the subject of the copular verb is coreferent with the subject of the infinitive. In the example (27c), on the other hand, the subject (the impersonal *la*) of the matrix predicate is core-

ferent with the object of the infinitive, which is, nevertheless, phonologically realized through a clitic.

See § 5.3.2 for a comparison between the use of *a* in CT and in Venetan dialects.

5.2.2 Con

The main meaning of *con* is comitative/reciprocal (28). In addition, it can be instrumental (29), modal (30), and causal (especially in the so-called “absolute construction” (31); see Ruwet 1978 for French, Suñer 1988 for Spanish, Casalicchio 2015 for Italian):

- (28) a. *Són na al mercà con l' Antonia.*

I.am gone to-the market with the Antonia
‘I went to the market with Antonia.’

- b. *Ò parlà con to sorèla.*

I.have spoken with your sister
‘I spoke to your sister.’

- (29) *I ladri i a rôt la pòrta con na spranga.*

the thieves they.CL have broken the door with a bar
‘The thieves broke the door with a bar.’

- (30) a. *quando l' parla con quela so foga ...* (Sartori, 204)

when he.CL speaks with that his ardour
‘He speaks with such ardour.’

- b. *La Carmen la parla sèmpre con la vózze bassa.*

the Carmen she.CL speaks always with the voice low
‘Carmen always speaks with low voice.’

- (31) *Con la Maria che la sta mal, no pòdo nar fòra staséra.*

with the Maria that she.CL stays sick not I.can go out tonight
‘Since Maria is ill, I can’t go out tonight.’

A peculiar CT construction formed with the preposition *con* is ‘*con* + adverb + nominal phrase’.⁵ While this construction has never been studied for CT or

⁵ See Cordin (2014) for the regional Italian spoken in Trentino.

for the other dialects in Italy, as far as we know, Cordin (2014) reports that in spoken regional Italian the construction is particularly frequent with the adverbs *dentro* ('inside'), *sopra* ('above'), *addosso* ('on, against').⁶ At the same time, the nominal phrases within the *con*-PP frequently refer to garments (or similar) and feelings (e.g. anxiety):

- (32) a. *El m'a portà na zésta con déntro le lugàneghe.*
 he.CL me.CL-has brought a basket with inside the sausages
 'He brought me a basket with sausages inside.'
- b. *L'è partì con drio i sòldi de la paga.*
 he.CL-is left with behind the money of the salary
 'He left taking his salary with him.'
- c. *La stava ent el lèt con su na coèrta de lana.*
 she.CL was in the bed with above a blanket of wool
 'She was in bed with a woollen blanket over her.'
- d. *Ò lezù l'articolo con déntro na paura che no te*
 I.have read the-article with inside an anxiety that not you.CL
pòdi imaginà.
 can imagine
 'I read the article with an anxiety that you can't imagine.'

As noted by Cordin (2014), the preposition *con* here introduces a secondary predication, and it could be translated as "having". The null subject of the secondary predicate is coindexed with the object of the main clause in (32a), with the subject in (32b)–(32d). To negate this type of construction, the preposition *sènza* is used (but note that in some cases, e.g. (32a) and (32d), this construction cannot be negated):

- (33) a. *L'è partì sènza drio en sòldo.* (cf. with (32b))
 he.CL-is left without behind a coin
 'He left without taking a penny with him.'

6 For the status of these elements, which are used as both prepositions and adverbs, see *infra*.

- b. *La stava ent el lèt senza su le coèrte nè*
 she.CL was in the bed without above the blankets nor
niènte. (cf. with (32c))
 nothing
 'She was in bed without blankets or anything else.'

5.2.3 Da

As discussed in § 5.1, the original value of *da* is ablative (i.e., it indicates the origin), as it derives from the syncretism of the Latin prepositions *DE* + *AB*. Within Romance, this preposition exists only in Italo-romance, Sardinian and Rhaeto-romance, and it is particularly widespread in the Alpine region. Its uses in CT can be categorized as follows:

1. *da* is used in adverbial function; it has locative, temporal, agentive and causal meaning;
2. *da* is used in adnominal function; it expresses a characteristic or a purpose of an NP, while other Romance languages normally use *con*, *di* or *per* in these contexts. Note that CT never uses *da* as a functional preposition instead of *de*, i.e. as a genitive marker (*El fiòl de/*da la Maria*, 'Maria's son'), nor as a prepositional complementiser (see § 9.2.2). For the use of *da* in compounds, see also § 2.5;
3. *da* is selected by a number of verbs (for some examples see § 5.3.1).

5.2.3.1 *Da* in Adverbial Function

1. Agentive meaning: PPs headed by *da* are used in passive clauses ((34), see § 8.3):

- (34) *El Paolo l' è zercà da tuti.*
 the Paolo he.CL is wanted from everyone
 'Paolo is wanted by everyone.'

In CT, passive sentences are hardly ever used and often felt as Italian influence; thus, speakers prefer to resort to other constructions (see § 8.3). However, when a passive sentence is used, the agent is expressed through a *da*-PP.

2. Causal meaning:

- (35) a. *Ma i me copa dal tant*
 but they.CL me.CL kill from-the much

laorar. (Nando da G. 171)
 work.INF
 'But they kill me with all this work.'

b. *No se pol corer qua o là dal gust e balar en*
 not se can run here or there from-the pleasure and dance in
piazza ancoi che l'è San Vigili? (Nando da G., 172)
 square today that it.CL-is St. Vigilius
 'Isn't it possible to run to and fro just for pleasure, and to dance today,
 since it is St. Vigilius' day?'

c. *morìr da la fam,⁷ tremàr dal frét*
 die from the hunger, tremble from-the cold
 'die of hunger, tremble with cold'

All the examples in (35) express the cause of the main event.

5.2.3.2 *Da* in Adnominal Function⁸

1. In some cases, PPs headed by *da* point to a characteristic, which may be a distinctive characteristic, a specialisation, or a reference to provenience. Moreover, a *da*-PP can be used as an adjective: either as a qualitative adjective, or as an *-able*-type adjective.

- a. *Da* expresses a distinctive characteristic:

(36) a. *Na volta mi credeva [che fus] trascurá quel [sc. l'om]*
 One time I thought that was.SBJV ignored that sc. the-man
da le cióle. (Felini, 148)
 from the chatters
 'In the past I thought that those who always chatter were ignored ...'

b. *el gabàn dale àle* (Aneggi 1984)
 the coat from-the wings
 'the winged coat'

⁷ Example based on the regional Italian examples taken from Pernechele (1989: 62 f.).

⁸ See also § 2.5.

- c. *la ùcia da pómol* (Groff 1955)
 the needle from knob
 ‘the needle with a knob’
- d. *la Madòna da spasem* (Aneggi 1984)
 the Madonna from suffering
 ‘the suffering Madonna’
- (37) a. *la padèla dai busi* (Aneggi 1984)
 the pan from-the holes
 ‘the pan with holes’
- b. *el póm da l’òio* (Aneggi 1984)
 the apple from the-oil
 ‘the greasy apple’
- c. *la mòsa da todésch* (Aneggi 1984)
 the *mus* from German
 ‘German *mus*’

In the examples in (36), the *da*-PP has an adjectival use and refers to a characteristic considered to be distinctive, that allows us to distinguish the object from other objects of the same type: in (36a), the man who just talks is compared to a man who prefers actions to words (who has already been mentioned in the text). The distinctive function is also clear in the other examples: in (36b), for example, a specific type of coat is meant (i.e. a coat with wings, like a tail coat); in the same way, (36c) refers to a specific needle within a set of different needles (the one with a knob), and (36d) to a specific representation of the Madonna, amongst the many that exist in the popular Catholic imaginary (the suffering Madonna). The adjectival use of the *da*-PP is particularly evident in the last three examples: but while the holes in (37a) can be interpreted as a distinctive characteristic or a pure adjective, (37b) and (37c) are clearly adjectival, because “oil”, i.e. the greasiness, is a quality of the apple, but the apple is neither made of, nor contains, oil. Similarly, in (37c) the best translation is just “German *mus*” (a typical peasant dish once widespread in the region, having spread from the German-speaking part of the region). Note that e.g. the German *mus* is not one specific type of *mus*, but the only one that exists, hence it is different from the characterising *da*-PP, which refers to a specific subset.

b. *Da* indicates specialisation:

(38) a. *la banca dal pan, el fòrn dal pan*
the bench from-the bread, the oven from-the bread
'the bakery'

b. *el tubo dal fum*
the tube from-the smoke
'the oven pipe'

c. *El Lambrusco l'è el vin dale dòne.*
the Lambrusco he.CL-is the wine from-the women
'Lambrusco is a wine for women.'

The examples in (38) look quite similar to those in (36), but here the *da*-PP denotes a specialisation of the denoted object: the shop in (38a) specialises in selling bread, and the pipe in (38b) carries smoke from stoves. Finally, (38c) indicates that Lambrusco is seen as a wine specially for women (because it is a sweet wine).

c. The material or immaterial value of an object can be expressed through the preposition *da*:

(39) *n auto da 20.000 euri*
a car from 20,000 euros
'a 20,000 euros car'

(40) a. *bòn da niènt*
good from nothing
'useless, good-for-nothing'

b. *L'è n òm da pòch.*
he.CL-is a man from little
'He's a worthless man.'

This value is typically found either with a specific amount, or with quantifiers ('nothing', 'a little'). Note that the PP can modify adjectives (40a) or nouns (40b) when it refers to an immaterial value.

- d. *Da* has an adjectival use (with an infinitival verb) corresponding to the suffix *-able*:

- (41) a. *da magnàr* (Aneggi 1984)
 from eat.INF
 ‘edible’
- b. *na putèla da maridàr*
 a girl from marry.INF
 ‘a nubile young woman’

Unlike in Italian, in CT ‘*da* + infinitive’ can be used with the semantics of the *-able* suffix; this suffix is no longer productive in CT and expressions like **magnabil(e)* do not exist. Alternatively, a *da*-PP can be used (41). In some cases, like in (41a), these sentences are ambiguous, because both a deontic (“that must be eaten”) and a possibility reading (“that can be eaten”) are available, and only the context allows to interpret the expression correctly.

2. *Da* indicates a function or purpose

The PPs of this category can be divided into three main groups, according to the semantic type of their complement: the noun selected by *da* can be the theme, the agent or an action.

- a. The *da*-PP indicates the theme of the noun to which it refers: the theme can be
- i. what an object is used for (42)–(43);
 - ii. what the result of an action performed with the object is (44);
 - iii. with what item, or in which context, an object is used (45).

- (42) a. *la tràpola dai sòresi* (Sicina, ALD-II 740)
 the trap from-the mice
 ‘the mouse trap’

- b. *la bròca da l’acqua* (Aneggi 1984)
 the jug from the-water
 ‘the water jug’

- c. *el còrn da la pólver* (Aneggi 1984)
 the horn from the powder
 ‘the powder horn’

- (43) *l'èrba dai pòri* (Groff, ALTR, and Aneggi, ALTR)
 the-herb from-the verrucas
 'the herb for verrucas'

In these examples the *da*-PP refers to the object for which something is made: the trap in (42a) is made precisely to catch mice. In the same way, the jug in (42b) and the horn in (42c) are intended to contain water and gun-powder, respectively. In this group we can also include the expression of sicknesses that can be cured with specific herbs (43).

- (44) a. *el stamp dal botér* (Aneggi 1984)
 the mould from-the butter
 'the butter mould'
- b. *le uce da calza* (Trento 1, ALD-II 942)
 the needles from sock
 'the knitting needles for socks'

In the examples in (44), the *da*-PP indicates what is produced by an object: the mould in (44a) is used for making butter, and the knitting needles of (44b) are specifically for making socks. Compare this example with (36c), where the same expression "*ùcia + da*-PP" is used to indicate a property of the needle, and not its purpose as in (44b).

- (45) a. *la fòrbesa da coràm* (Aneggi 1984)
 the scissors from leather
 'leather scissors'
- b. *el zòcol da stala* (Aneggi 1984)
 the clog from stable
 'the stable clog'

The examples in (45) refer to the domain of use of an object: the scissors in (45a) are made to be used with leather, and the clogs in (45b) are made to be worn in the stable.

b. The focus of the *da*-PP is on the agent:

- (46) a. *la fòrbesa da bandàr* (Aneggi 1984)
 the scissors from plumber
 'plumber scissors'

- b. *la stica da mul* (Aneggi 1984)
 the wedge from mule
 ‘the wedge for mules’

In the examples (46), the user of an object is the complement of *da*. In many cases this is a craftsman, like in (46a); compare this example with (45a), where the *da*-PP refers instead to the material with which the scissors are used. The relationship between the noun and the *da*-PP can also be of a different type as in the case of (46b): *da mul* denotes a particular type of wedge that is inserted into tree trunks so that they can be transported by mules—but these wedges are not literally “used” by the mules themselves

- c. Finally, the focus can be on an action, which is usually expressed through an infinitive. In this case the infinitive may indicate the purpose for which an object is used:

- (47) a. *la subia da foràr* (Aneggi 1984)
 the awl from pierce.INF
 ‘the stitching awl’

- b. *l’as da lavàr* (Aneggi 1984)
 the-board from wash.INF
 ‘the washboard’

In these examples the *da*-PP indicates the purpose for which an object is made: an awl to make holes in the leather by shoemakers (47a) and a board for washing clothes (47b). From a syntactic point of view, the noun preceding the PP is not an argument of the following infinitive, unlike in the previous examples of deontic meaning (48).

In other cases the *da*-PP has deontic meaning, i.e. it expresses something that has to be done:

- (48) a. *Sta chì l’è la ròba da lavàr.*
 this.F here she.CL-is the stuff to wash.INF
 ‘These things here are the clothes that I have to wash.’
 b. *A casa gò i vestidi da stiràr.*
 at home I.have the clothes to iron.INF
 ‘At home I have the clothes that need to be ironed.’

- c. *Al tòlt le létere da mandar via?*
 has=he.CL taken the letters to send.INF away
 'Did he take the letters that need to be sent?'

In these examples the noun preceding the preposition *da* is the object of the following infinitive. Note that this type of *da*-PP is probably the origin of the deontic expression *gavér da*, which has grammaticalized as 'must' in CT and in many Northern Italian varieties (cf. (48a)–(48b) with (49))

- (49) *Gò da stiràr i vestidi.*
 I.have to iron the clothes
 'I have to iron the clothes.'

5.2.4 De

De is mainly used to combine two nouns: the *de*-PP can refer to the possessor (including in a metaphoric or very loose sense, (50); see Section 2.5), to a partitive relation (51), to a particular issue (52), or to the second term of a comparison (53):

- (50) a. *el stròp de la bòza* (Trento, ALD-II 520)
 the cork of the bottle
 'the cork'

- b. *odor de incens* (Alneri 121)
 smell of incense
 'smell of incense'

- (51) *an pò de monéda* (Mezzocorona, ALD-II 620)
 a bit of money
 'a bit of money'

- (52) *Con quanti avéo parlà de sta ròba?* (Levico, ALD-II 1025–1026)
 with how.many have=you.CL spoken of this
 thing
 'How many people did you speak to about this?'

- (53) *Ti sés pu n gamba de mi.* (Cembra, ALD-II 976–977)
 you.CL are more in leg of me
 'You are better than me [at doing something].'

5.2.5 En(t)

En(t) is occasionally used with modal meanings (concretely or figuratively):

- (54) *en qualche vèrs* (San Michele, ALD-II 991)
 in some way
 ‘in some way’

- (55) a. [*la vaca*] *l'èi en calór.* (Cembra, ALD-II 813)
 the cow she.CL-is in heat
 ‘the cow is in heat.’

- b. *ogni domenega l'era en bega.* (Bonapace 130)
 every Sunday he.CL-was in quarrel
 ‘Every Sunday he quarrelled with somebody’

5.2.6 Per

Per (*par* in the rural area) is mainly used with a temporal/locative meaning and with infinitives. In addition, it can be used, among other things, as distributive, purposive and causal; in the last two cases it competes with other prepositions:

- (56) *La maèstra la ne a dat n póm per un.*
 the teacher she.CL us.CL has given an apple for each
 ‘The teacher gave an apple to each of us.’

- (57) *el magnàr per i ruganti / dei*
 the eat.INF for the pigs of-the
 ruganti (Segonzano, ALD-II 820)
 pigs
 ‘the pigs’ food’

- (58) *tremàr per el frét / dal frét*
 tremble for the cold from-the cold
 ‘tremble with cold’

5.3 Comparative Remarks on the Use of the Prepositions

In this section we briefly compare the distribution of the prepositions in CT with Italian (§ 5.3.1) and Venetan (§ 5.3.2). The main difference between CT and Italian concerns the use of *da*, which is much more widespread in CT. On the other hand, if we compare CT to Venetan, we see that they mainly differ in the syntax of the preposition *a*, which is null in a number of contexts in Venetan, while this happens only in one specific construction of CT.

5.3.1 *Differences between Central Trentino and Italian*

Although the main patterns of preposition use in CT and in Italian correspond, there are some significant differences, particularly concerning the preposition *da*, which is more commonly used in CT than in Italian (cf. Salvi & Vanelli 2006: 173–176). In addition, there are some selectional differences between these two languages. Note that in several cases speakers, especially those in the younger generation, tend to introduce the Italian pattern, due to contact with the standard language.

In this section we propose two tables that illustrate the differences between these two languages. The comparison with Italian is particularly interesting because it is the only standard language that has the same inventory of prepositions than CT: Spanish and French, for example, do not have any correspondent to CT *da*, while they both distinguish between *por/para* and *par/pour*, a distinction absent in CT and in Italian.

Table 33 is dedicated to the different values of *da* in CT and Italian. While the main locative, temporal and agentive uses are the same in CT and Italian, the other values of *da* do not completely overlap. There are three main sources for the divergence between these two languages: (i) *da* in CT has a value that Italian expresses through other means; (ii) both CT and Italian use *da* with specific functions, but CT is more consistent, while in Italian other prepositions can also be used; (iii) there are differences in the lexical selection: some verbs that require a PP headed by *da* in CT take other types of complement in Italian (for this last type of difference, see Table 34).

The third type of differences between CT and Italian concerns different selectional properties of verbs, adjectives and nouns, as well as the existence of fixed expressions. Again, most differences involve the use of *da*; some cases in which *da* is selected in CT are the following:

TABLE 33 The functions of *da* in CT and in Italian

	Central Trentino	Italian
Adverbial uses		
Locative meaning		
– Origin with motion verbs (3)	<i>da</i>	<i>da</i>
– Origin with stative verbs (4)	<i>da</i>	<i>di</i> (older use: <i>da</i>)
– Goal and state with animate complements (5)	<i>da</i>	<i>da</i>
– path (6)	<i>da</i>	<i>per, attraverso, da</i>
– general reference to a location (7)	<i>da</i>	<i>presso</i>
Temporal meaning		
– general reference to a time period (12)–(13), (17)–(18)	<i>da</i>	<i>per/verso</i>
– starting point of an event (22b)	<i>da</i>	<i>da</i>
– time span between a completed event and a reference time (22d)	<i>da</i>	<i>da</i>
Agentive meaning (34)	<i>da</i>	<i>da</i>
Causal meaning (35)	<i>da</i>	<i>per, di, a causa di</i> (in some cases, <i>da</i>)
Adnominal uses		
A characteristic		
– corresponding to a distinctive characteristic/qualitative adjective (36)–(37)	<i>da</i>	<i>di, con, adjective, da</i>
– specialisation (38)	<i>da</i>	<i>di</i>
– value (39)–(40)	<i>da</i>	<i>da</i>
– <i>-able</i> adjective (41)	<i>da</i>	<i>-bile</i>
Function/purpose		
– focus on the theme		
– what an object is used for (42)–(43)	<i>da</i>	<i>per/da</i>
– result of an action (44)	<i>da</i>	<i>per/da</i>
– with what item an object is used (45)	<i>da</i>	<i>per/da</i>
– focus on the agent (46)	<i>da</i>	<i>per/da</i>
– focus on the action		
– purpose for which an object is used (47)	<i>da</i>	<i>per</i>
– deontic (48)	<i>da</i>	<i>da</i>

TABLE 34 Selectional differences between CT and Italian

Central Trentino	Italian	English
<i>fazzile a</i>	<i>facile da</i>	easy to
<i>bòn a</i>	<i>capace di</i> (but: <i>buono a nulla</i>)	able to
<i>lónch a contarla</i>	<i>lungo da raccontare</i>	long to tell
<i>con la vózze bassa</i>	<i>a voce bassa</i>	with low voice
<i>con</i> + adverb + NP	no correspondent pattern	with + NP + adverb/PP
<i>spuzàr da</i>	<i>puzzare di</i>	stink of
<i>savér da</i>	<i>sapere di</i>	smell of
<i>far da mago, far da òco</i>	<i>fare l'indiano</i>	pretend to not understand
<i>odór da</i>	<i>odore di</i>	smell of
<i>tegnìr da cónt</i>	<i>tenere in conto</i>	appreciate
<i>dar da mént a qualcheduni</i>	<i>dare retta a qualcuno</i>	pay attention to someone
<i>da sti ani</i>	<i>a quei tempi, un tempo</i>	in those times
<i>far de manco</i>	<i>fare a meno</i>	do without
<i>nar ent el lèt</i>	<i>andare a letto</i>	go to bed
<i>en gatón</i>	<i>a gattoni</i>	on all fours
<i>en tèra</i>	<i>a terra</i>	on/to the ground
<i>fòra per</i>	<i>lungo, presso</i>	along, around
<i>per mèz</i>	<i>a metà</i>	in half
<i>sul giornàl</i>	<i>nel giornale</i> (but <i>sul giornale</i> is frequent in informal speech)	on the newspaper

(59) a. ... *trane qualche rinegà che spuzava da Austria a 'n*
 except-for some renegade that stank from Austria at a
km. (Sartori, 2007)

kilometre

'... except for some renegade that stank of Austria from a kilometre away.'

b. *far da mago, far da òco* (Groff 1955)
 make from wizard, make from gander
 'pretend not to understand or not to hear'

c. *en odór da marz* (Segonzano, ALD-II 859)
 a smell from rancid
 'a rancid smell'

- (60) a. *Na volta mi credeva [...] | che l'om che gà pu fati*
 One time I thought that the-man that has more facts
che parole, | el fus tegnù da cont. (Felini, 148)
 than words he.CL was.SBJV hold from count
 'In the past I thought that a man who acts more than he speaks were
 greatly appreciated.'
- b. *E ghe dala da ment sta*
 and him.DAT.CL gives=she.CL from mind this
Carlotta? (De Gentilotti, 139)
 Carlotta
 'And this Carlotta, does she pay him attention?'

In the examples (59), the *da*-PP is selected by the verbs *spuzàr* ('stink') and *far* ('do', in the sense 'behave like, pretend to be'); and by nouns like *odór*. In Italian, these items select *di*, except for *far da*, which is expressed through a direct object (*fare l'indiano*, lit. "make the Indian", 'to pretend not to understand'). The expressions in (60) exemplify some of the fixed expressions that are formed with *da* in CT, but not in Italian: in these cases *da* most frequently selects nouns. In Italian, these meanings are expressed through other means: (60a) is best expressed through a PP headed by *in* (*tenere in conto*) and (60b) through a different expressions (*dar retta, prendere in considerazione*).

Table 34 contains these cases; in addition, selectional differences concerning other prepositions are also illustrated.

5.3.2 *The Use of the Preposition a in Central Trentino and in Venetan*

In the Venetan dialects spoken in areas near the province of Trento (especially in Central Venetan, see Longobardi 1997, Penello 2003) the preposition *a* is not phonologically realised in a number of contexts, as is also the case in French (*J'habite Paris* 'I live in Paris', *Je vais manger* 'I will eat'). These contexts are:⁹

- a. locative *a*, with habitual locations (home, work, school, nearby cities and villages);

9 List and examples are taken from Penello (2003: chapter 5). Note that depending on the variety, the use of *a* may be optional or ungrammatical: the judgements in (61) thus refer specifically to the variety spoken in Carmignano. Penello's generalisation is that there is an implicational scale, going from the context in a., the most prone to be obligatorily realised without *a*, to the context in d.

- b. *a* as introducer of infinitives selected by the verb *go*;
- c. *a* as introducer of infinitives selected by aspectual verbs (e.g. *begin*);
- d. *a* in prepositional locutions (*in the middle of*):

(61) a. *Vao casa.* (Venetan, Carmignano del Brenta)

I.go house
'I go home.'

b. *A setimana che vien ndemo catar Mario.*
the week that comes we.go visit Mario
'Next week we'll visit Mario.'

c. *Elora, scumissito (a) capire a fisica?*
thus begin-you.CL to understand the physics
'So, have you started to understand physics?'

d. *(E chiave) e iera in mezo (a) l'erba!*
the keys they.CL were in middle to the-grass
'The keys were in the grass!'

The absence of *a* in the periphrases *èsser drio* + infinitive (aspectual periphrasis) and *no sta* + infinitive (prohibitive periphrasis) can also be included in this list:

(62) a. *Són drio (*a) sriver.*

I.am after at write.INF
'I'm writing.'

b. *No sta (*a) magnàr!*

not stay at eat.INF
'Don't eat!'

Pernèchele (1989) reports that the preposition *a* can also be phonologically null in the regional Italian variety spoken in Trentino, citing examples such as *Vago (a) Trento*.¹⁰

¹⁰ Note that Pernèchele's data were collected throughout Trentino, thus it is impossible to know if he found the example cited all over Trentino or only in the villages close to the Veneto. In any case, the CT speakers we consulted all reject the cases in (61)–(62), except for the prohibitive (62b).

Our data reveal that this innovation peculiar to the Venetan varieties has not reached CT: the AIS and ALD-II maps show a clear difference between the areas of the province of Trento in which a Venetan dialect is spoken (Southern and Eastern Trentino) and the rest of the province. According to our data, the only CT construction in which the *a* can be dropped is the periphrasis *no sta* for the prohibitive:

- (63) *No sta dirghe!* (Trento, ALD-II 226)
 not stay say.INF=him.DAT.CL
 'Don't tell him!'

In all the other cases, the *a* is required, cf. (61) and (62a) with (64):

- (64) a. *Vago *(a) casa, nén *(a) Trènt*
 I.go to house, we.go to Trento
 'I go home, we go to Trento'
- b. *Nar a cercàr* (Viarago and Faver, AIS 636)
 go to look.for
 'go to look for'
- c. *Scominziàr a crésser* (Trento, ALD-II 37)
 start to grow
 'start growing'
- d. *La chiave l'èra en mèz *(a) l'èrba.*
 the key she.CL-was in middle to the-grass
 'The key was in the grass.'
- e. *Són dré a scrìver.* (Cembra, ALD-II 322)
 I.am after to write
 'I'm writing.'

The case of (63) is thus isolated, since it is the only one in which all CT speakers accept (or even require) the absence of the preposition. This seems to be a recent innovation: in the AIS, the prohibitive (maps 355, 636, 1144, 1621, 1647) is never formed with this periphrasis in CT, nor in the Northern part of the province of Trento: instead, the construction "*no* + infinitive" is used (as in Italian), see § 9.1.4. On the other hand, *no sta* appears in the Eastern and Southern part, usually without the preposition *a*. In Groff's (1955) selection of texts

in Trentino, there are some occurrences of *no star* in CT, but in all cases they have the preposition *a*, like in this example:

- (65) *No sta a far da mago!* (Groff 1955: 129)
 not stay to do from wizard
 ‘Don’t look blank!’

Nowadays, in the whole area of CT the *a* is dropped in this construction (cf. the ALD-II, map 226). However, the preposition *a* is still used in the similar, durative/intensive construction *star a* (lit. ‘stay at’), see § 8.2.2.3. In this case, it can never be dropped, see the ALD-II data (cf. (66) with (63)):

- (66) a. *cos’è che te stai a far?* (Civezzano, ALD-II 321)
 what-is that you.CL stay to do
- b. *Còsa stat lì a far?* (Trento 1, ibid.)
 what stay-you.CL there to do
 ‘What are you doing?’

5.4 Derivative and Compound Prepositions

Both derivative and compound prepositions are lexical, and contain more material than simple prepositions: derivative prepositions are usually polysyllabic, while compound prepositions are formed by two or more separate elements. The distinction between these two types is not always clear, because there are various derivative prepositions that can be used alone or, optionally, with a following simple preposition. Therefore, in the discussion of the data we prefer to group together first all the prepositions that derive from, or contain, an adverb (§ 5.4.1). In the following section, we discuss other types of compound prepositions.

5.4.1 *Prepositions Derived from Adverbs*

The prepositions discussed in this section have a mixed status between prepositions and adverbs: the same form can be used in typical adverbial contexts (*e dòpo sòn na a casa*, ‘and afterwards I went home’), but can also have complements like ‘true’ prepositions (*dòpo le dése* ‘after ten o’clock’). Specific differences between simple and derivative/compound prepositions are:

- (i) simple prepositions can cluster with the following article (although not all of them do);

- (ii) derivative prepositions allow the extraction of their complement (as does *su*, which is usually considered a simple preposition):

- (67) a. *Ò més el capèl sóra l'armàr.*
 I.have put the hat above the-wardrobe
 'I put the hat on the wardrobe.'
- b. *G'ò més sóra el capèl.*
 it.DAT.CL-I.have put above the hat
 'I put the hat on it.'

- (iii) being derived from adverbs, the prepositions discussed in this section can be used in 'verb + locative' constructions (see § 7.5). Again, this also holds for *su*:

- (68) *nar su / vegnìr fòra / tòrse dré le ciavi*
 go up come out take=se behind the keys

Note that in some cases the difference between the adverbial and the prepositional use is marked by the presence or absence of the prefix *de-*. However, there is no systematic mapping of the forms with and without this prefix, because in some cases the prepositional form has the *de-* (cf. the preposition *denanzi* vs. the adverb *enanzi* 'in front of'), while in others it does not (cf. the preposition *sóra* vs. the adverb *desóra* 'above, upon'), see chapter 6 for more details.

The most frequent CT prepositions derived from adverbs are listed in Table 35. Note that if a preposition of this list requires a following simple preposition, the latter is also indicated in the table.

The prepositions listed in Table 35 can be divided into three classes: those that must be followed by a simple preposition (e.g. *entórno* 'around', *prima* 'before' (69)); those that are followed by a simple preposition optionally, or only in some contexts (e.g. *dré* 'behind', *fin* 'until' (70)); and those that never allow a simple preposition (e.g. *fòra che/trane (che)* 'except for', *secónt* 'according to' (71)). Simple prepositions are more frequently required when the complement is a personal pronoun (e.g. *sènza* 'without' (72)):

- (69) a. *L'aveva girà le val' entorno a*
 he.CL-had go.around the valleys around to
Trent. (Bonapace, 130)
 Trento
 'He had visited the different valleys around Trento.'

TABLE 35 CT prepositions derived from adverbs

Adverb-derived preposition in Central Trentino	Main English correspondent
<i>adòs a</i>	on, against
<i>arént a, pé de</i>	near, nearby
<i>avanti, prima de</i>	before
<i>confórma, confórme</i>	in accordance with
<i>cóntra de</i>	against
<i>denanzi, davanti (a)</i>	in front of
<i>dré, drio (a)</i>	behind
<i>dòpo, delà de</i>	after
<i>ént, énter, éntro, déntro</i>	inside
<i>(en)fin (a)</i>	until
<i>fòra de/da</i>	out, outside
<i>fòra per</i>	during
<i>(fòra che)</i>	except for
<i>encóntra a</i>	toward
<i>ensèma con/a</i>	together
<i>entór/entórno a</i>	around
<i>lontàn de/da</i>	far
<i>manco de</i>	less
<i>óltra</i>	beyond
<i>pasa (de)</i>	more than
<i>secónt</i>	according to
<i>sènza (de + pronoun)</i>	without
<i>sóra (de), sóreghe</i>	above
<i>sót, sóta, sóto (a)</i>	below
<i>trane (che)</i>	except
<i>(en)vèrs de</i>	toward

- b. *prima *(de) marènda* (Sicina, ALD-II 443)
 before of lunch
 'before lunch'
- (70) a. *èl s a scón dré a l'armàr.* (Viarago, AIS 900–901)
 he.CL se is hidden behind to the-closet
 'He hid behind the closet.'
- b. *al s è scondü dré l'armàr.* (Faver, ibid.)
 he.cl se is hidden behind the-closet
 'He hid behind the closet.'
- c. *L'a fiocà fin sta mattina.* (Civezzano, ALD-II 691–692)
 it.CL-has snowed until this morning
 'It snowed until (this) morning.'
- d. *L'a nevegà fin a la mattina.* (Levico, ibid.)
 it.CL-has snowed until to the morning
 'It snowed until (this) morning.'
- (71) a. *Fòra che / trane l'Elisa, sén chì tuti.*
 out that except.for the-Elisa we.are here all
 'Except for Elisa, we're all here.'
- b. *Secónt i vèci del paés, chì el fiocava de pu*
 according.to the elders of-the village, here it.CL snowed of more
da sti ani.
 from these years
 'According to the elders of the village, here it snowed more often in the past.'
- (72) a. *Són na fòra de casa senza tacuìn.*
 I.am gone out of house without wallet
 'I went out without my wallet.'
- b. *no vago mai via senza de lu.*
 not I.go never out without of him
 'I never go out without it.'

5.4.2 *Compound Prepositions*

CT has some compound prepositions, e.g. *enfónt a* ('on the bottom, at the end'), *en zima a* ('on the top'), *per via de* ('because of'):

- (73) a. *En zima al mont gh'è rivà per prima el*
 in peak at-the mount there.CL-is arrived for first the
 Giorgio. (Montesover, ASIIt 1.20)
 Giorgio
 'Giorgio arrived first on top of the mountain.'

- b. *L' Antonia la è rabiosa per via de so fradèl.*
 the Antonia she.CL is angry for way of her brother
 'Antonia is angry because of her brother'

Note that in (73b) the meaning of the complex preposition is compositional, i.e. it cannot be derived from its parts: *per via de* has a causal meaning that is absent in *via* alone ('way').

A peculiarity of Northern Italian dialects, including CT, is the clustering of two prepositions: either two simple prepositions are combined, or a simple preposition with a following derivative one.¹¹ In both cases the preposition heading the cluster is usually *da*.

The first case has already been documented by Azzolini (1856: 125 ff.), who cites the following examples from his native variety Roveretano (outside CT):

- (74) a. *da 'n su / da 'n zò* (Azzolini 1856: 125)
 from in up from in down
 'from above / from below'
- b. *da per ella / da per mi* (ibid p. 126)
 from for her from for me
 'according to her / according to me'

The examples in (74a), still used today, are formed by two prepositions (*da* and *en*) and an adverb (*su* or *zò*). They have a locative value, expressing the origin of a movement through *da* (cf. the English translation of the example),

¹¹ See § 5.4 for derivative prepositions followed by a simple preposition.

while *en su/en zó* have an adverbial value. The examples in (74b), on the other hand, can be translated with “according to her/me”, but they are no longer in use.

On the other hand, the second type, exemplified in (75), is similar to (74a), since it also indicates the origin of a movement. Unlike the former examples, however, here a simple preposition takes a derivative locative preposition as its complement (see also Cerruti 2009):¹²

- (75) a. *Tira zó la valis da sóra l'armàr!*
 Take down the suitcase from over the-wardrobe
 ‘Take the suitcase down from the top of the wardrobe!’
- b. *El gat l'è saltà fòra da drio la tènda.*
 the cat he.CL-is jumped out from behind the curtain
 ‘The cat jumped out from behind the curtain.’

The examples in (75) show some differences with respect to (74a): here the location is described by the PP *sóra l'armàr/drio la tènda*, and this locative P is the complement of the PP headed by *da*, resulting in a double-layered PP. In (74a), on the other hand, *en su/zó* form an adverb, as the English translation shows; they can thus be compared with the grammaticalised Italian adverb *insù*.

12 For the specific construction ‘*con* + derivative preposition’, see § 5.2.2.

Adverbs and Adverbial Phrases

This chapter deals with the CT adverbial system. Like other Romance varieties, CT has devised a variety of formation strategies for adverbs (§ 6.1). The most frequent in the main Romance languages like Italian, Spanish and French—the use of the suffix *-ment(e)*—is not very common in CT, and its use is often rejected as an Italian influence. Indeed, CT presents various alternatives to *-mént*: the suffix *-ón* and the use of a nominal expression embedded in a prepositional phrase. Which of the formation possibilities was chosen depended on the base; the resulting expressions are nowadays generally fixed. CT also contains a series of adverbs inherited from Latin, which refer especially, but not only, to time, place or manner. Finally, some adverbs have been created by either putting a preposition in front of an adverb, by joining two adverbs, or just by using a default form of an adjective (usually corresponding to the masculine singular).

CT adverbs can also be modified in various ways (§ 6.2). They can be doubled or modified by the suffixes *-iènt* or *-lssim* (and *-ve*, only for *chì* ‘here’ and *lì* ‘there’) to intensify their value, or preceded by another adverb of degree or manner, to restrict or extend it.

In § 6.3 we discuss two peculiarities of CT: first, the use of different adverbs to express ‘(not) yet’. Second, the use of adverbs when space indications are given: as in other mountainous regions, references to geographical objects follow complicated patterns, due to the need to give indications within a three-dimensional space. A complex system of adverbs has therefore evolved to refer to toponyms and other geographical objects.

Finally, while negation in itself is quite straightforward in CT and shows no particular irregularities, at a pragmatic level there are two adverbial particles that distinguish this variety from other Romance languages: *miga* and *bèn* (§ 6.4). Both play a role in the pragmatics of the clause, and are used to negate a presupposition that may be either explicit or implicit. *Miga* (*mica* in Italian) is also used in Standard Italian and in the neighbouring Lombard and Venetan dialects, and its primary function is to negate a positive presupposition. In CT, a presupposition is also necessary; however, it is often very weak, so that *miga* seems to do little more than emphasise the negation. This distinguishes CT from both Italian, where *mica* must be related to a clear presupposition, and from Veronese and Bresciano, where *mica* is now simply a plain negative adverb without specific pragmatic import. The use of the particle *bèn*, on

TABLE 36 Adverbial morphology in CT

Formative	Example	Translation
(P +) N/V/A + -ón/óni	(a) <i>tastón</i> <i>de scondón</i>	feeling one's way on the sly, in secret, unseen
P (+ art.) + N	<i>a bonmarcà</i> <i>almanco</i>	cheap at least
A + -mént	<i>raramént</i>	rarely
Fixed expressions headed by <i>de</i>	<i>de strabàuz</i> <i>de ònz</i>	secretly festively, ceremoniously
Adverbs inherited from Latin (sometimes modified)	<i>èco</i> (< ECCUM) <i>là</i> (< ILLAC)	here you are there
Reinforced adverbs (by a preposition or by another adverb)	<i>en su</i> (< <i>en</i> + <i>su</i>) <i>zóbas</i> (< <i>zò</i> + <i>bas</i>)	above at the lowest floor
Adjectives used as adverbs	<i>dirèto</i>	directly

the other hand, is a peculiarity of CT, and is almost unknown in the other Italo-romance varieties. Used to negate a negative presupposition, it is complementary to *miga*.

6.1 Adverbial Morphology

In CT adverbs and adverbial phrases can be formed through different strategies, illustrated in Table 36.

6.1.1 *Adverbs Formed with a Suffix*

6.1.1.1 (P +) V/N/A + -ón/óni

The (no longer productive) suffix -ón/óni¹ is only used in a small number of expressions, usually deverbal and deadjectival adverbs. Many of them are (obligatorily) preceded by a preposition, generally *a*, occasionally *de*. As in Italian (where the formative -one/oni exists, Rohlfs 1969), adverbs formed in this way mainly refer to body postures and movements; in CT, however, their

1 For this adverb formation type in Italian, see Pieri (1904, 1906), Rohlfs (1969), Heinemann (2001) Corona (2012), Franco (2015), a.o. Most of the properties described by these authors also hold for CT.

lexical basis is not always the same as in Italian. A further difference between the two languages is that these adverbs are usually in the singular form in CT (Groff 1955 and Aneghi 1984 cite no plural form at all, but the speakers consulted for this research accept them), while in Contemporary Italian the plural form *-oni* is absolutely predominant. In this respect, CT is more like Old Italian, where the adverbs in *-one* were more frequent than those in *-oni* (Franco 2015). Finally, another difference between CT and Italian is that CT prefers to use this suffix with verbs and adjectives, while in Italian nominal bases are more common. In Groff (1955) and Aneghi (1984), most of the examples have a verbal basis (1), but some items are deadjectival (2) and denominal (3):

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|---|---|
| (1) | a. <i>a strangolón</i> | < <i>strangolàr</i> ('strangle') | very hastily (referred to eating or drinking) |
| | b. <i>de scondón</i> | < <i>scónder</i> ('hide') | on the sly, in secret, unseen |
| | c. <i>a tastón</i> | < <i>tastàr</i> ('feel, touch') | feeling one's way (referred to movements) |
| | d. <i>a strangossóni</i> | < <i>strangossàr</i>
(<i>'crave, desire something ardently'</i>) | longing, yearning, hungry (fig.) |
| (2) | a. <i>a reversón</i> | < <i>revèr</i> ('upside down') | in a disorderly manner, inside out |
| | b. <i>a stornezzón</i> | < <i>stórno</i> ('dazed') | staggering |
| (3) | a. <i>a gatóni</i> | < <i>gat</i> ('cat') | on all fours (lit. "catlike") |

6.1.1.2 P (+ art.) + N

These adverbs are formed by a preposition and a nominal expression, sometimes preceded by the article. Usually, there is no article when the expression is formed with a common noun (which can be used both independently and not, cf. (4a)–(4b) with (4c)–(4d)). Nominalised quantifiers, adverbs or adjectives, however, tend to be used with the article (5):

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|---|---------------------------|
| (4) | a. <i>debòt(o)</i> | < <i>bòt(o)</i> ('shot') | all of a sudden, suddenly |
| | b. <i>en prèssa</i> | < <i>prèssa</i> ('press') | quickly |
| | c. <i>so(t)còz</i> | < <i>còz</i> ('heavy and loose-knit carpet or blanket') | furtively, secretly |
| | d. <i>a bonmarcà</i> | < <i>bon</i> + <i>marcà</i>
(<i>'good' + 'market'</i>) | at a good price, cheap |

- e. *a seraòci* < *seràr* + *òci* ('close' + 'eyes') blindfolded, trusting
blindly
- (5) a. *almanco* < *manco* ('less') at least
b. *del tut* < *tut* ('all') completely
c. *dalbòn, delbòn* < *bòn* ('good') really, truly

Note that while (4a)–(4c) are formed by nouns commonly used independently (*bòt* 'shot', *prèssa* 'hurry' and *còz* 'carpet'), (4d)–(4e) are compounds that do not exist as independent nominal forms: *bonmarcà* is only used as the adjective form 'cheap', while *seraòci* is a fixed adverbial expression. In the examples in (5), on the other hand, the nominalised expressions are the adverb *manco* ('less'), the quantifier *tut* ('all'), and the adjective *bòn* ('good').

6.1.1.3 Adj. + -mént

The adverbial suffix -*mént* (< Latin *MENTE*, ablative of *MENS* 'mind'), is used in CT, but is less productive than in the main Romance languages; CT, in fact, like other Italo-Romance dialects, completely lacks some of the classes of adverb formed with -*mente* in Italian, Spanish or French.² Most of these belong to the class of adverbs usually defined as speaker-oriented (cf. e.g. Cinque 1999), because they express the speaker's evaluation of an event. Examples of this type are *clearly*, *frankly*, *sincerely*, *probably*, *surely*. To express these meanings, CT uses other means, such as a subordinate or impersonal clause (e.g. *pòl èsser che* '(it) can be that' for *probably*, *a dirla tuta* 'to say it all' for *sincerely*). Nevertheless, CT dictionaries cite some forms in -*mént*, which are formed, like in the other Romance languages, with the feminine singular form of an adjective. Some examples are:

- (6) a. *talmént* < *tal* ('such') so, so much
b. *spezzialmént* < *spezzial* ('special') especially
c. *estramént* < *èstra* ('outside, in addition') moreover, in addition

It is not easy to determine the extent to which the creation of adverbs in -*mént* is due to the influence of Italian. The adverb in (6c), however, which is formed with *èstra*, itself an adverb, seems to be an original formation—at least it is unknown to Standard Italian. We also find this adverbial suffix

² Nowadays, speakers can use adverbs of this type, but they are seen as Italianisms.

in the *Statuti* of the 14th century (Schneller 1881), where forms like *specialmentre* (cf. with (6b)), *generalmentre* ('completely'), *inprimamentre* ('first of all') are used; it also occurs in a short manuscript written in the Giudicarie valley (outside the CT area) around the year 1400, which contains the adverb *autramenter* ('otherwise'), Zingerle (1900). Note that the form *-mentre/menter* (a crossing between the Late Latin suffix *-MENTE* and the Latin suffix *-TER*) is typical of the Old Venetan varieties, and still survives in Dolomitic Ladin, as well as in few areas of Veneto (Rohlfs 1969: 129). In the other areas of North-Eastern Italy, including CT, it has been replaced by the Italian/Tuscan form *-ment(e)*.

6.1.1.4 Fixed Expressions Headed by the Preposition *de*

A restricted class of adverbs is formed of the preposition *de* and a fixed form that has no meaning by itself (nor a clear etymology). Some examples are:

- (7) a. *de sforàuz, de sfruz,* (basis unclear) secretly, furtively and smartly
 de strabàuz
 b. *de ònz* (basis unclear) festively, ceremonious

The etymology of these adverbs is often difficult to determine, because these adverbs are related to jocular expressions that mainly refer to hidden, secret or quick actions and the inner structure of these adverbs has clearly been influenced by wordplay. Different expressions for "secretly, furtively" are listed in (7a). All these expressions seem to be related to Venetan *sfroso* (Boerio 1829) and Lombard *sfròs* (Cherubini 1843), both from Latin *EX + FRAUS*. It is probable that in CT there was a crossing with *fòra* 'outside', leading to *sforàuz*, possibly influenced by the German (*he*)*raus* ('out'). The origin of the expression *sfruz* also seems related to these terms. Finally, *strabàuz* could derive from a crossing of *èstra* ('moreover') with *sforàuz*, but it could also be related to Tyrolean forms like *strawànz*/*strabànz* ('vagabond, tramp'). These terms, especially *strabàuz*, the most common, have given rise to a series of expressions used to create complicity between the speaker and the hearer(s), such as *fiòl de strabàuz* ('illegitimate child', lit. "hidden, secret child"), *laoràr de strabàuz* ('work illicitly'), and *sòldi de strabàuz* ('money received in some unclear way'). Finally, *de ònz* in (7b) also has an unclear etymology.

6.1.2 Adverbs Inherited from Latin

In CT, as in the other Romance languages, we also find a class of adverbs directly inherited from Latin, the morphology or semantics of which have, in some cases, been modified. This group is not very large, and is mainly made up of

adverbs of time and place (8), of degree and quantity (9), of manner (10), and focalising adverbs (11):

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|---------------|-------------------|
| (8) | a. <i>domàn</i> | < DE MANE | tomorrow, morning |
| | b. <i>mai</i> | < MAGIS | never |
| | c. <i>lì/là</i> | < ILLIC/ILLAC | there |
| | d. <i>chì</i> | < ECCUM HIC | here |
-
- | | | | |
|-----|----------------|------------|--------|
| (9) | a. <i>pu</i> | < PLUS | more |
| | b. <i>assà</i> | < AD SATIS | enough |
| | c. <i>tant</i> | < TANTUM | much |
-
- | | | | |
|------|------------------------|-------------------|----------|
| (10) | a. <i>così, cosita</i> | < ECCUM SIC (ITA) | so |
| | b. <i>ensema</i> | < INSEMUL | together |
-
- | | | | |
|------|--------------------|------------|---------|
| (11) | a. <i>sól</i> | < SOLUM | only |
| | b. <i>quasi</i> | < QUASI | almost |
| | c. <i>pròp(r)i</i> | < PROPRIUM | exactly |

Note that in CT the distal locative adverbs *lì/là* are used almost interchangeably, but the proximal locative *chì* is much more common than *qua*.³ Moreover, there are some phonological differences between the two forms: *lì/chì* is stronger and can occur in sentence-final positions (12), as well as after focalising adverbs like *pròpi* (13):

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|----|------------------|-------------|------------|---|--------------|----------------------------|
| (12) | a. | <i>Vèi</i> | <i>fòra</i> | <i>chì</i> | / | <i>*qua!</i> | (adapted from Cordin 2016) |
| | | come.IMP.2SG | outside | here | | here | |
| | | 'Come out here!' | | | | | |
-
- | | | | | | | | |
|--|----|----------------------|-------------|-----------|---|-------------|--|
| | b. | <i>Va</i> | <i>drio</i> | <i>lì</i> | / | <i>*là!</i> | |
| | | go.IMP.SG | behind | there | | there | |
| | | 'Go behind (there)!' | | | | | |

3 Cinque (1971) shows that in Italian the pairs *lì* vs. *là* and *qui* vs. *qua* have a slightly different semantics: *qui* and *lì* indicate a specific point in space, while *qua* and *là* are more generic. Although these judgements are very subtle, we have the impression that the same holds for CT, as shown by these examples:

(i) a. *Passa de qua* / **chì* / *là* / **lì*.
 pass of here here there there
 'Pass through this / that way.'

- (13) a. *Te férmēt pròpri chì?*
 you.OBJ.CL stop=you.CL just here
 Do you stop just here?
- b. *??Te férmēt pròpri qua?*
 you.OBJ.CL stop=you.CL just here
 Do you stop just here?

6.1.3 *Modified Adverbs*

Some locative adverbs have been modified by one or more preceding prepositions (14) or a second adverb (15), giving rise to new fixed forms:

- (14) a. *en su*, < *en* + *su* ('up') above
en zó < *en* + *zó* ('down') below
 b. *de sóra* < *de* + *sóra* (up) upstairs, above
de sót(o) < *de* + *sót(o)* (down) downstairs, below
 c. *adadré* < *a* + *da* + *dré* ('behind') one after the other
- (15) a. *su alt* < *su* ('up') + *alt* ('high') at the uppermost floor, on the top
 b. *zó bas* < *zó* ('down') + *bas* ('low') at the downmost floor, on the bottom
 c. *foravía* < *fòra* ('out') + *via* ('away') outside, somewhere else, secretly

In the examples in (14), one or two prepositions have been attached to an adverb, giving rise to a new adverb. Note that these are fixed forms, and not optional additions (see also § 5.4.2). The same holds for the cases in (15), where two adverbs are joined together to form a new, fixed adverb. In (15a)–(15b), the two adverbs have a similar meaning, suggesting that the augmentation originally had reinforcing value. In (15c), on the other hand, the two adverbs are less similar: the compound is more specific than *fòra* alone.

6.1.4 *Adjectives Used as Adverbs*

Finally, another common strategy in many Italo-romance dialects is the use of adjectives instead of proper adverbs. This behaviour is particularly widespread in Southern Italy (see e.g. Rohlfs 1969 and Ledgeway 2011 for Southern Italy in general, Cruschina 2010 on Sicilian, Silvestri 2016 on Calabrian), but is also found in Northern Italy, especially in CT.

- (16) a. *fòrt* = adj. *fòrt* ('strong, loud') loudly
 b. *listés* < adj. *istés* ('same'; with preceding article?) all the same
 c. *ruz* = adj. *ruz* ('fast')⁴ quickly, fast

All the forms cited in (16) are still used as adjectives. When used as adverbs, however, they have a fixed form (usually the default masculine singular) and do not agree with the subject or object of the clause:⁵

- (17) *I pòpi i parla massa fòrte* / **fòrti*.
 the children they.CL talk too loud.M.SG loud.M.PL
 'The children sing loudly.'

6.2 Intensification and Modification of Adverbs

Adverbs can be modified in different ways: through reduplication, suffixation and the use of adverbs of degree and manner.

As in other Italo-romance varieties (including Italian), adverbs can be intensified by repetition. This strategy of intensification is more common with adjectives (see § 3.6.4), included those used as secondary predicates (cf. fn. 5). It is also found with some adverbs, especially those that have an adjectival origin, as in:

4 *Ruz* in (16d) is an adjective that can be used as adverb. Its etymology derives from Latin *RUERE* ('run') according to Groff (1955), but might also be related to Italian *ruzzolare* ('tumble', from Latin *ROTEOLARE*, Nocentini 2010).

5 Note that the use of adjectives as adverbs should not be confused with their use as secondary predicates: adjectives used as adverbs belong to a restricted class, do not agree with the subject in number and gender (cf. (i) with (17)) and cannot be reinforced by the quantifier *tut* inflected for number and gender (ii):

- (i) *La Nina la è nada via contènta* / **contènt*
 the Nina she.CL is gone away happy.F.SG happy.M.SG
 'Nina left happy.'
 (ii) *La Nina la cantéva tuta contènta* / **tut(a)* *fòrte*
 the Nina she.CL sang all.F.SG happy.F.SG all.M.SG(F.SG) loud
 'Nina sang very happily.'

In (ii), *tuta contènta* is a secondary predicate, *tut/tuta fòrte* an adverb formed through the adjective *fòrte* ('strong').

- (18) *Sicóme che l'era tut engiazà, el Tòni l'è na ala*
 because that it.CL-was all icy the Toni he.CL-is gone to-the
màchina pampiàn.
 car slow-slow
 'Since it was very icy, Toni went very slowly to the car.'

In (18), the reduplicated adverb *pian* ('slowly') has been lexicalised as *pampiàn* or *panpiàn*, and is listed as such in Aneggi's (1984) dictionary.

Some adverbs can also be modified using intensifying suffixes, which are the same as those used with adjectives: *-(i)ènt* and *-issim(o)* (19)–(20). A special suffix, *-ve*, deriving from Latin *ibi*, is used with *chì* ('here') and *lì* ('there') (21):

- (19) a. *spessiènt* < *spés* very often
 b. *subitiènt(o)* < *subit* immediately
 c. *listessiènt* < *listés* all the same
- (20) a. *fortissim* < *fòrt* very loudly
 b. *pianissim* < *piàn* very slowly
- (21) a. *chive* < *chì + ve* (< *ibi*) (exactly) here
 b. *live* < *lì + ve* (< *ibi*) (exactly) there

The suffix *-(i)ènt* in (19) is mainly used with adjectives (cf. § 3.6.4). It is also found in other Northern Italian varieties to create a reduplicated form (e.g. *novo novento* in Veronese). In CT we find two peculiarities: the preceding asuffixed adjective/adverb is not obligatory (thus we can have forms like *noviènt*, *subitiènt* alone), and the suffix *-iènt* is also possible with adverbs (*miga mighente*, Marcato & Ursini 1998: 79). The second suffix, *-issim* (20), although present in Latin, was probably introduced through contact with Italian because it is considered less popular and is usually limited to some adverbs (and adjectives). Finally, Latin *ibi* has only survived in CT as a locative reinforcing particle for *chì* and *lì* (although it has been maintained in some varieties of the province, e.g. in Noneso *lù* 'there').⁶ Note that this suffix is not compatible with the pair *qua* and *là*, further evidence for the interpretation of *chì* and *lì* as stronger elements (cf. above, § 6.1.2)

⁶ The reinforcer *-ve* is also used with some personal pronouns like *mive* ('me'), see Table 28.

Finally, a further common strategy to modify an adverb is using an adverb of degree or manner. The modifying adverbs include *pu* ('more') and *manco* ('less') in comparative contexts, and *così(ta)* ('so'), *talmént* ('so (much)'), *pròp(r)i* ('exactly'), *anca* ('also'), *massa* ('too, excessively'), *demò* ('only'). Some examples are:

- (22) a. *El canta pu fòrt de ti.*
 he.CL sings more loud of you
 'He sings louder than you.'
- b. *L'a ciamà anca alghèr.*
 she.CL-has called also yesterday
 'She also called yesterday.'
- c. *Avén zercà le ciavi demò su alt, no zó bas.*
 we.have searched the keys only upstairs, not downstairs
 'We only looked for the keys upstairs, not on the ground floor.'

The example in (22a) shows the use of *pu* in comparative contexts and the sentences in (22b)–(22c) are examples of modification by the focalising adverbs *anca* ('also') and *demò* ('only').

6.3 Some Peculiarities of the Adverbial System

6.3.1 *Ancóra and Other Adverbs Meaning 'already' in Central Trentino*

The adverb *ancóra* has a wide range of meanings in CT. First of all, it can be used with the meanings 'still' or 'again':

- (23) *L' è ancóra n matelòt.*
 he.CL is still a child
 'He's still a child/young boy.'
- (24) *Pòdest contàrmelo ancóra?*
 can=you.CL tell=me.CL=it.CL again
 'Can you tell it to me again?'

When the sentence is negative, however, *ancóra* is often replaced by *gnancóra* (< *ne+ancóra*), which has probably been formed by analogy with the pair *anca* 'also'—*neanca/gnanca* (< *ne+anca* 'neither, not even'):

- (25) *El Bepi no l sa gnancóra noàr.* (Levico, ALD-II 285–286)
 the Bepi not he.CL knows not.yet swim
 ‘Bepi can’t swim yet.’

CT *ancóra* is also used to mean ‘already’ (only with past tenses)—this is in sharp contrast with other Romance languages such as Italian, Spanish or French, which clearly distinguish between an adverb for ‘still’ (mainly *ancora*, *todavía*, and *encore*, respectively) and another for ‘already’ (mainly *già*, *ya*, and *déjà*, respectively):

- (26) *L’ ò vist ancóra.*
 him.CL I.have seen already
 ‘I have already seen him.’
- (27) *Sét sta ancóra a Milàn?*
 are=you.CL been already to Milan
 ‘Have you already been to Milan?’

This bivalent use of *ancora* is also found in Old Italian: in the Middle Ages, *ancora* was frequently used to mean ‘already’, cf. Rohlfs (1969: § 931). Unlike CT, Old Italian *ancora* also occurs with verbs in the present tense (cf. (28)–(29) with (26)–(27)):

- (28) *Se’ tu ancor morto?* (Dante, *Inferno* 33,121)
 are you already dead
 ‘Are you already dead?’
- (29) *È egli ancora dì, che tu mi chiami?* (Boccaccio, *Decameron* 9,6)
 is it already day, that you me.CL call
 ‘Is it already day, since you’re calling me?’

Apart from *ancóra*, CT expresses ‘already’ with a number of different adverbs: *za* (*già* in the rural area), *zamài/giamài*, *amò* and the expression *èsser bèl che*:

- (30) a. *L è za stròf.* (Trento, ALD-II 433)
 it.CL is already dark
 ‘It’s already dark.’

- b. *El malà l'è guarì giamài da n bèl*
 the sick he.CL-is healed already since a nice
pèz. (Segonzano, ALD-II 181–182)
 piece
 'The sick person healed some time ago.'
- c. *Dòrmes giamài?* (Faver, AIS 649)
 you.sleep already
 'Are you already asleep?'
- d. *Me fiòl l'è amò en matelòt.*
 my son he.CL-is still a boy
 'My son is still young.'
- e. *El tram l'è bèl che partì.*
 the tram he.CL-is nice that left
 'The tram has just left.'

The example in (30a) illustrates the use of *za* (< IAM), which corresponds to Italian *già*, Spanish *ya* and French *déjà*. (30b)–(30c), on the other hand, are examples of the use of *giamài* (cfr. Fr. *jamais* < IAM MAGIS, from which the literary Italian *giammai* also derives⁷). In CT *mai* was probably felt to be a reinforcing element of *già* (in Italian it is the other way around, with *già* reinforcing *mai*). The adverb *amò* in (30d) is particularly widespread in the western part of the Province of Trento, since it is a typical Lombard element derived from a crossing of Latin IAM with MODO (as forms like *zamò* in Eastern Lombardy show, see AIS 649). Finally, while the original meaning of the expression *èsser bèl che* (30e) was simply 'almost, about to', it was later extended to mean 'just'. Used mainly to indicate that something has been missed (a train, an opportunity to do something, etc.), its function is often to express an emotional component.

6.3.2 Locative Adverbs

A property of the Trentino dialects, which is shared by other Romance and Germanic varieties in the Alps,⁸ is the use of a rather complex system of locative

7 It is not clear whether the CT *giamài* derives directly from French or from Italian: according to Rohlfs (1969: § 943), *giammai* is a purely literary adverb in Italy.

8 See, for example, Krier (1986) for Alemannic, Pescarini (2004) for the variety of Roana (Veneto) compared to Fassan Ladin and other Alpine varieties; Irsara (2015) for Ladin, Prandi (2015) for Alpine Lombard (and other varieties of North-Western Italy). Note however that

adverbs to express spatial relations. Trentino's mountainous landscape means that its spaces—and movement through them—are three-dimensional, and the wide range of locative adverbs allows speakers to refer accurately to a given place. Prandi (2015) defines this type of deixis as ground-oriented, because it does not depend on the current position of the speaker. Instead, the point of reference is her/his own village or town: the same locative adverbs are thus used by whole communities, regardless of the actual position of either speaker or addressee.⁹

Three factors are particularly important when the speaker wants to describe a state or a movement towards a specific place:

1. altitude: places are located either above or below the reference point of the community;
2. the territory's numerous valleys that condition its inhabitants' horizontal movements and are often seen as closed spaces; a speaker may refer to a place that is further up the valley as being "*inside*", while somewhere down the valley is "*outside*";
3. the mental representation of the space as a map: places located north of the reference point are *above*, places south of it are *below*.

These fine-grained differences are particularly striking when a locative is used with a toponym: the choice depends on the three factors listed above. The adverbs that are usually found in these contexts are: *su* ('above, on'), *zò* ('down, below'), *dént(ro)* ('inside'), *fòra* ('outside'), *via* ('away'). The same adverb is used with movements and states. The following examples take the city of Trento as deictic centre:

(31) a. *La Paola la è / la néva su en Bondón.*
 the Paola she.CL is she.CL went up in Bondone
 'Paola is on / went to Mount Bondone.'

b. *Su a Bolzàn i a davèrt na sala da cine nòva.*
 up at Bolzano they.CL have opened a room of cinema new
 'In Bolzano a big cinema has been opened.'

there is much (micro)variation in the use and distribution of the different locative adverbs within a ground-oriented deictic context.

- 9 As pointed out by Prandi (2015), this means that each place has a fixed position on the shared mental map of the speakers in a specific community: Borgo will always be *zò* ('down') for speakers of CT: thus a sentence like (31c) will be uttered even if the speaker and the hearer are somewhere further south, like Venice or Rome. Pescarini (2004), on the other hand, reports that in the Venetan variety of Roana the use of 'up' and 'down' is anaphoric and not deictic, i.e. it depends on a reference point present in the discourse.

- c. *La Giulia la è nada / la sta zó a Borgo.*
 the Giulia she.CL is gone she.CL stays down at Borgo
 ‘Giulia went to / lives in Borgo.’

- (32) a. *dént(ro) en val de Fiéme*
 inside in valley of Fiemme
 ‘in the Fiemme valley’

- b. *fôra en Austria*
 outside in Austria
 ‘in Austria’

- (33) a. *via en Amèrica*
 away in America
 ‘in America’

- b. *via a Mósca*
 away at Moscow
 ‘in Moscow’

The examples in (31) show the use of *su* (‘up, above’) and *zó* (‘down, below’): *su* is used when a geographical object is located higher than the speaker (Mount Bondone in (31a)). In (31b), on the other hand, Bolzano is indeed at a slightly higher altitude than Trento; but here the idea that Bolzano is north of Trento (thus “above” on the speaker’s mental map) influences the choice of the preposition *su*. The case of Borgo Valsugana in (31c) is more striking: Borgo is located South of Trento, but at a higher altitude. Thus, in this example the mental map of the speakers clearly prevails over purely geographical factors. Note that *su* and *zó* are generally used in opposition: people from Trento go *su a Lavis*, while people from Lavis go *zó a Trènt*.

In the examples in (32), on the other hand, the use of *dént(ro)* (‘inside’) and *fôra* (‘outside’) is illustrated. *Dént(ro)* is mainly used for valleys surrounded by high mountains, seen—especially in the past—as difficult to access and therefore like enclosed spaces (32a). Surprisingly, *fôra* is usually not used as the opposite of *déntro* with geographical places; a speaker in the Fiemme valley, for instance, will prefer *zó a Trènt* to *fôra a Trènt*. *Fôra*, in fact, refers to somewhere outside the common space of reference of the speakers’ community: in (32b), Austria is located outside the Trentino community and is therefore referred to using *fôra* rather than *su*. Finally, (33) shows the use of *via* (‘away’) to talk about faraway places that lie beyond the shared mental map of the CT community.

These rules are the most commonly found, but the pattern of use of locative adverbs with toponyms also varies from community to community.

Note that locative adverbs can also combine more generally with verbs, forming a ‘verb + locative construction’ that resembles English and German particle verbs. We focus on this construction in § 7.5.

6.4 Affirmative and Negative Adverbs

6.4.1 Negation

In CT negation has the same properties as in Italian. The negation element is *no*, used preverbally, preceding all clitics (including subject clitics) and following subject NPs and full pronouns (see § 4.9):

- (34) a. *Ma el no'l voleva saverghen.* (Bonapace, 130)
 but he not-he.CL wanted know=there.CL=of.it.CL
 ‘But he didn’t want to know anything about it.’
- b. *sta cara zità no se la vede pu.* (Sartori, 205)
 this beloved city not se her.CL see anymore
 ‘This beloved city isn’t visible anymore.’
- c. *No ghe l’onte dit?* (De Gentilotti, 138)
 not you.DAT.CL it.CL-have=I.CL said
 ‘Didn’t I tell you?’
- d. *Vardé de no lassarve ciapar en trapola.* (De Gentilotti, 139)
 look.IMP of not let=you.PL.CL catch in trap
 ‘Watch out that you don’t get trapped.’
- e. *me par che no sé quel che zerco mi.* (Nando da G., 173)
 I
 ‘I guess you’re not the person I’m looking for.’

The examples in (34a)–(34c) show that the negation follows the subject free pronoun *el* (34a) but precedes the clitic *l*, the impersonal *se*, and the verb with

all the other clitics, respectively (34b–c). Finally, *no* is also used to negate infinitives (34d) and embedded clauses (34e).

When a negative adverb or quantifier is used (referred to as “Negative Polarity Item”), the negation *no* must also be used (so-called *negative concord*). The negative adverbs used in CT include *mai* (‘never’), *pu* (‘not anymore’), *gnancóra* (‘not yet’), and *neanca/gnanca* (‘not even’), (35). Negative quantifiers are *gnènt/niènt* (‘nothing’) and *nessùn* (‘nobody’) (36). Note that when the quantifier precedes the verb, the doubling through *no* is generally excluded (36c), while it is accepted in other parts of Trentino:

- (35) a. *Me sento na roba che no gò mai*
 me.CL I.feel a thing that not I.have never
provà. (Nando da G., 168)
 tried
 ‘I’m feeling something that I never felt before.’

- b. *Mi no so pu come tòrte.* (Bonapace, 128)
 I not I.know anymore how take=you.CL
 ‘I don’t know how to deal with you anymore.’

- c. *No i vanza nanca su da tera, tant putèi*
 not they.CL come.out not.even up from earth, both boys
che putèle, che i è pieni de bulada e de
 that girls, that they.CL are full of bravado and of
malizia ... (Nando da G., 169)
 malice
 ‘They haven’t come out of the earth yet, both boys and girls, and they are already full of bravado and malice ...’

- (36) a. *No te sai propi gnent, ti!* (Nando da G., 177)
 not you.CL know really nothing, you
 ‘You don’t know anything at all!’

- b. *No vèn nessùn.*
 not comes nobody
 ‘Nobody comes.’

- c. *Nessùn è vegnù en tèmp.* (Montesover, ASIt 1.33)
 nobody is come in time
 ‘Nobody arrived in time.’

To reinforce the negation, the speaker can put a second negative element, *nò*, at the end of the sentence. The double negation occurs especially in specific pragmatic contexts when the speaker wants to convince the hearer(s) of the negative character of an utterance. As can be seen in the examples (37), this pragmatically marked strategy is used especially when there is an emotional import:

- (37) a. *Brut remengo d'en bosiadro, no l'è vera gnent*
 ugly loafer of-a liar not it.CL-is true nothing
no. (Dolzani, 144)
 not
 'Ugly bastard liar, it's all false.'
- b. *No sta a enrabiarte, no!* (Dolzani, 144)
 not stay at get.angry.you.CL not
 'Don't get angry!'
- c. *Va a casa subit, via, via, che chive no l'è posti*
 Go to home instantly away away that here not it.CL-is places
per le done, no! (Dolzani, 144)
 for the women not
 'Go home now, away, because this is not a place for women!'

In (37a) the speaker is shouting to defend himself from the accusation of having stolen apples, and is protesting his innocence. The examples (37b) and (37c), on the other hand, contain an imperative: in (37b), where the speaker wants to calm the accused man down, we find a prohibitive. In (37c), said by a man to his daughter, the second part of the sentence explains why the girl should go away and reveals the father's concern.

Note that this second negative element differs from the preverbal negation: the latter is unstressed and a clitic, while the sentence-final *no* (pronounced *nò*) bears stress and is strong (as it does not attach to an adjacent element), see also Poletto & Olivieri (2018).

6.4.2 *The Presuppositional Adverb miga*

Miga is an adverb unique to Italo-Romance, and, according to Cinque (1976), has a presuppositional nature: it is used to negate positive—implicit and explicit—presuppositions (see also §10.2):¹⁰

¹⁰ See also Penello & Padovan (2008). The functions of CT *miga* are also discussed in §10.2.

- (38) a. *Nanele*: “*E quele foie de salgar soto la bareta?*”
 and those leaves of willow under the cap
Cianci: “[...] *ma no l’è miga foie de salgar; te vedi*
 but not it.CL-is *miga* leaves of willow you.CL see
ben che le è molto pu grosse: l’è foie de
bèn that they.CL are much more big it.CL-is leaves of
vivalòr.” (Nando da G., 176f.)
 laurel
 ‘Nanele: “And those willow leaves under the cap?” Cianci: “[...] but they
 aren’t willow leaves; you can clearly see that they are much bigger: they
 are laurel leaves”’
- b. *Ma senti, caro fiòl, no bisogn miga che te*
 but listen, dear son, not it.is.necessary *miga* that you.SUBJ.CL
te la ciapi con noi, ades, no. (Dolzani, 145)
 you.REFL.CL. her.CL takes with us, now, not
 ‘Listen, dear son, you shouldn’t be angry with us, now.’
- c. *Sior, mi no vegno miga per pregarte che te*
 Lord, I not come *miga* for pray=you.CL that you.CL
la fazzi pagar a quei che m’ha fat del
 her.CL make pay to those that me.CL-have done of-the
mal... (Trento; Papanti 1875: 646)
 bad
 ‘My Lord, [don’t think that] I have come to beg you to punish those that
 harmed me ...’

The first two examples are taken from theatre pieces, where *miga* appears in dialogue. In (38a) Nanele admires a picture and asks about the meaning of some leaves that he identifies as willow leaves. This explicit presupposition is negated by Cianci, who uses *miga* to state that the leaves are from a different species of tree. In the second case, the mayor of a village has been called to resolve a dispute between a young man and the father of a girl who is in love with the young man. During the argument, the young man, who feels that the mayor and the other villagers present are not treating him fairly, expresses his annoyance. At this point the mayor says (38b), to negate the implicit (i.e., unspoken) presupposition that everyone is prejudiced against the young man. Finally, (38c) shows that *miga* was used in the same way in the 19th century: in this translation of Boccaccio’s novel, a lady has been harmed by some men in Cyprus. Since she knows that the local king is a coward, she starts her speech by

reassuring him that she is not asking him to take any courageous action (such as punishing the criminals).

The distribution of *miga* in CT obeys the same restrictions as those noted for Italian by Cinque (1976): *miga* can only occur in sentence types that can include presuppositions, i.e. mainly main clauses. These can be declaratives (38), interrogatives (39a) or imperatives (39b). The only embedded clauses that can contain *miga* are those selected by specific verb classes (mainly of saying or believing (39c)) and non-restrictive relative clauses (39e)—other types of embedded clauses, such as those introduced by ‘be happy’ (39d) and restrictive relative clauses (39f), are ruled out:

- (39) a. *El Paolo no l'a miga ciamà?*
 the Paolo not he.CL-has *miga* called
 ‘Might Paolo have called?’
- b. *No 'l staga miga a tirarme fòra el so S. Gennaro,*
 not he.CL stay *miga* at take =me.CL out the his saint Januarius
sa'lo!
 you.know-it.CL
 ‘Don’t try to mention Saint Januarius now!’
- c. *Crédo che no l sia miga za tornà.*
 I.think that not he.CL is *miga* already come.back
 ‘I don’t think that he’s back yet.’
- d. **Són contènt che no l sia miga za tornà.*
 I.am happy that not he.CL is *miga* already come.back
- e. *Sto gat chì, che no l'è miga marón, el se ciamà*
 this cat here that not he.CL-is *miga* brown he.CL se calls
Malpelo.
 Malpelo
 ‘This cat, which surely isn’t brown, is called Malpelo.’
- f. **El gat che no è miga marón el se ciamà Malpelo.*
 the cat that not is *miga* brown he.CL se calls Malpelo

In (39a), the expectation is that Paolo has not yet called: thus the question with *miga* asks whether this presupposition is wrong. According to Cinque,

in negative imperative sentences like (39b), on the other hand, the expectation is that the hearer would certainly do what is prohibited, if the speaker didn't say anything. In this case, the hearer has already mentioned Saint Genaro (Januarius), and the speaker tells him to stop doing so (the dialogue is a squabble between someone from Trentino and someone from Naples, whose patron saint is Januarius). The examples (39c)–(39d) are a minimal pair and show that verbs like *créder* allow *miga* in the embedded clause, while expressions like *èsser contènt* do not. Finally, the contrast between (39e) and (39f) shows that *miga* is only compatible with non-restrictive relative clauses. These differences between the embedded clauses are due to the fact that both clauses embedded under *créder* and non-restrictive relatives can have independent presuppositions.¹¹

An interesting property of CT is that, unlike Italian, it has a more restricted use of *miga* without a negation. In Italian, *mica* is allowed in colloquial requests, where the preverbal negation is optional (40a); in matrix clauses, where it takes the preverbal position (i.e. in the position usually occupied by the negation, (40b)); and, finally, in verbless exclamatives (40c):

- (40) a. (*Non*) *hai mica un fiammifero?* (Italian; Cinque 1976: 108)
 not you.have *mica* a match
 'Do you happen to have a match maybe?'
 b. *Non fa mica freddo!* = *Mica fa*
 not it.makes *mica* cold *mica* it.makes
 freddo! (Italian; Cinque 1976: 108)
 cold
 'It isn't cold at all!'
 c. *Mica male!*
 mica bad
 'Not bad at all!'

In CT, sentences like (40a) are possible: the negation *no* is not obligatory, especially in fast speech (41a). However, unlike Italian, *miga* can never be preverbal (cf. (41b) with (40b)). Verbless sentences like (40c) are also possible in CT with

11 To be more precise, Cinque underlines that in sentences with *credere* the embedded, and not the matrix, clause can constitute the main assertion (Cinque 1976: 107 f.).

miga. In the texts reported by Groff (1955), in this case *miga* is always preceded by the negation, though ((41c)–(41d)). Nowadays, however, speakers perceive the form *no miga* as clumsy: they generally use *miga* alone, without negation.

(41) a. (No) *gat miga da empizàr?* (CT)
 not have=you.CL *miga* from light.INF
 ‘Do you happen to have a light?’

b. (No) *l’è miga frét ≠ *Miga l’è frét*
 not it.CL-is *miga* cold *miga* it.CL-is cold
 ‘It isn’t cold at all!’

c. *Le putele po’ le è pezo dei matèi [...] No miga*
 the girls then they.CL are worse than-the boys not *miga*
soltant quele de zità ...! (Nando da G., 169)
 only those of city
 ‘The girls are even worse than the boys [...] and don’t think that I’m referring only to those from the city!’

d. *Gh’era na putela - no miga tant lontana dal nos*
 there-was a girl not *miga* much far from-the our
mas - [...] con na bela cioma de cavei
 farm with a beautiful head.of.hair of hair
neri. (Nando da G., 169)
 black
 ‘There was a girl—she didn’t live far away from our farm at all—with beautiful long black hair.’

Finally, a comparative note: the varieties surrounding Trentino in the South and the West have grammaticalised the use of *mica*: in Veronese the negation *mìa* is very common, and obligatory in a series of contexts (depending on the variety) where it co-occurs with the preverbal negation *no*. In Brescian Lombard, on the other hand, the grammaticalisation process has gone even further: *mìa* is the only negation marker, while the preverbal negation *no* has disappeared:¹²

12 This process is in line with “Jespersen’s cycle”: negation starts out as preverbal, like in Italian; then it becomes discontinuous (with a preverbal and a postverbal element), like in

- (42) a. *L'è Piero che no vol mia nar*
 it.CL-is Piero that not wants *miga* go
ia. (Illasi, Verona: ASIt 2.111)
 away
- b. *L'è l Piero ca vò mia na.* (Brione; Brescia: ibid.)
 it.CL-is the Piero that wants *miga* go
 'It is Piero that doesn't want to go.'

This grammaticalisation process has not occurred in CT: *miga* has retained its original value as a presupposition marker, like in Italian. There is, however, one difference between these two languages: in some CT examples *miga* seems to be used just as a negative reinforcing marker, there appears to be no actual presupposition to be negated:

- (43) a. *quel disegno l'o fat anca mi a scola sul*
 that drawing him.CL-I.have done also I at school on-the
quaderno. No i l'averà miga copià da
 notebook not they.CL him.CL-will.have *miga* copied from
mi, perchè la maestra la m'à dat demò en
 me because the teacher she.CL me.CL-has given only a
 4. (Nando da G., 176)
 4
 'At school I drew the same thing in my exercise book. But they can't have copied it from me, because my teacher gave me a fail.'
- b. *No vedo l'ora de sentir quei bravi putèi. Ma, no i*
 not I.see the-time of hear those good boys but not they.CL
deve esser miga tant lontani, perchè le dese le sta per
 must be *miga* much far because the ten they.CL stay for
scocar. (Sartori, 202)
 strike
 'I can't wait to hear those good boys. But they can't be far, because it's about to strike ten.'

Standard French. Then, finally, it is only postverbal, like in German and colloquial French (cf. Jespersen 1917, Dahl 1979). For a recent analysis of the history of negation and the negation cycle in Europe and the Mediterranean area, see Willis et al. (2013), and in particular Mair Parry's chapter on Italo-Romance (Parry 2013). For a general discussion of Jespersen's cycle, see Zeijlstra (2016).

In (43a), the character cites a child commenting on a work of art, in order to criticise it. The child says that he did the same drawing at school and then negates the possible (but weak) presupposition that the artist copied it from him.¹³ In (43b), the presupposition negated by *miga* should be “the boys are a long way away”. But this presupposition doesn’t seem to stand in the context: the speaker is just expressing the fact that he is looking forward to seeing the boys, but this does not imply that they are far away. Standard Italian would not use *miga* in either case, but reinforce it with the adverb *certo* (‘certainly’). These last two examples show the epistemic value of *miga*: the speaker expresses her/his point of view that the situation he is describing is unlikely.

6.4.3 The Presuppositional Adverb *bèn*

CT has a second presuppositional adverb, *bèn* (see also § 10.2). Its etymology is related to the homonymous manner adverb *bèn* (‘well’), but it has developed some extra features that are almost entirely peculiar to CT (although marginal in the surrounding provinces). The exact value of this adverbial particle is not completely clear. Padovan & Penello (2014) show that it shares some properties with Spanish *bien* (cf. Hernanz 2010) which reinforces the positive value of a sentence (thus it is a “positive polarity marker”, Hernanz 2010). In the Trentino variety of regional Italian, however, *bèn*, like *miga*, needs a presupposition, as Cognola & Schifano (2018) have shown. Unlike *miga*, which is used to negate a positive presupposition, *bèn* is used to contradict a negative presupposition:¹⁴

- (44) a. *L’ò bèn comprà, el pan.*
 him.CL-I.have *bèn* bought the bread
 ‘I have bought the bread.’

13 Note that in (43a) a generic impersonal plural is used, even though the painting was made just by a single artist, see § 8.3.3.

14 The pragmatic value of *bèn* seems very similar to that of Tyrolean *schun* (which corresponds both to German *wohl* and *doch*); it is thus possible that the extension of the use of *bèn* in Trentino was influenced by contact with Tyrolean varieties. Cf. this parallel example in Tyrolean and CT:

- (i) A: *Take care when you go out, there’s ice on the streets.*
 B1: *I woass schun.* (Tyrolean)
 I know *schun*
 B2: *El sò bèn.* (CT)
 it I.know *bèn*
 ‘I know.’

In both the Tyrolean and the CT example the speaker negates the presupposition that she/he is not aware of the ice on the streets. The sentences thus imply “You don’t need to tell me. I’m well aware of it”.

- b. *Te gai bèn rasón.*
 you.CL have *bèn* right
 'You're right for sure.'

The sentence in (44a) is pragmatically felicitous if the context involves an explicit or implicit presupposition that the speaker has not bought bread. Similarly, in (44b), the speaker might say this if the hearer has expressed his opinion about something and wants to convince the speaker of its validity. Using (44b), the speaker assures the hearer that he is already convinced, and that the (concrete or hypothetical) presupposition that he disagrees with her/his dialogue partner is false.

Thus, from a pragmatic point of view *bèn* and *miga* are closely related. However, there are important syntactic differences between the two elements. *Bèn* can occur in declarative, but not in interrogative or imperative clauses, and its use is thus more restricted than that of *miga*. This is a syntactic and not a semantic or pragmatic restriction, because *bèn* is compatible with interrogative clauses when the syntax is that of a declarative clause, with an interrogative intonation (cf. (45) with (39a) and (41a)). Moreover, it cannot be used in truncated verbless sentences (47):¹⁵

- (45) a. **Sét bèn na dala Maria ancòi?*
 are=you.CL *bèn* gone to-the Maria today

- b. *Te sèi bèn na dala Maria ancòi?*
 you.CL are *bèn* gone to-the Maria today
 'You have been to Maria's today, right?'

- (46) a. **Pòrteme bèn i sòldi domàn!*
 bring=me.CL *bèn* the money tomorrow

- b. *Vara bèn de portarme i sòldi domàn!*
 watch *bèn* of bring=me.CL the money tomorrow

- (47) **Bèn bèl!*
bèn nice

¹⁵ Note that this adverbial particle *bèn* differs from the manner adverb *bèn* ('well'), which is compatible with all types of clause. We focus here only on the first type of *bèn*.

The contrast in (45a)–(45b) shows that *bèn* can only be used in an interrogative sentence when the syntax is declarative (cf. the position of the subject clitic). In imperative clauses, *bèn* with a plain imperative is ruled out (46a), while it can be used with a periphrastic imperative with *vara* (originally itself the imperative of *vardàr*, but now grammaticalised, see §§ 9.1.4 and 10.3). Finally, (47) shows that *bèn* is ruled out in verbless exclamations.

On the other hand, *bèn* is compatible with the same types of embedded declarative clause as *miga*, i.e. embedded clauses with verbs such as *créder* ('believe') and non-restrictive relative clauses:

- (48) a. *Crédo ch'el vègna bèn a zéna.*
 I.think that-he.CL comes *bèn* at dinner
 'I think (and I'm quite sure) that he will come to dinner.'
- b. **Són contènt ch'el vègna bèn a zéna.*
 I.am happy that-he.CL comes *bèn* at dinner
- c. *El me gato, che te l' ai bèn vist ancóra, l'è rós.*
 the my cat, that you.CL him.CL have *bèn* seen yet, he.CL-is red
 'My cat, that you have of course seen before, is red.'
- d. **El gato che t'ai bèn vist ancóra l'è rós.*
 the cat that you.CL-have *bèn* seen yet he.CL-is red

The pattern in (48) exactly mirrors (39c)–(39f) for *miga*: *bèn* is grammatical in declarative contexts that involve an independent presupposition, regardless of whether the clause is matrix or embedded.

Verb Morphology

This chapter focuses on verbal morphology, and is divided into two parts: inflectional morphology (i.e. the ways in which verbs are conjugated, §§ 7.1–7.3) and derivational morphology (the ways in which new verbs are formed, §§ 7.4–7.5).¹

One main characteristic of the CT conjugation system concerns the difference between the root of the 1st and 2nd person plural and the other persons and number in the present indicative and subjunctive; this scheme, called ‘N-pattern’ (see e.g. Maiden 2016b), is also found in other Romance languages (§ 7.1), but in CT it is particularly pervasive: the 1st and 2nd plural form of the present subjunctive is always based on the respective indicative form, to which an additional ending is added.

A property of CT not found in standard languages is the extension of the 3rd singular ending to the 3rd plural, in all forms of all verbs. This innovation is common to a number of dialects on the Adriatic side of Italy, from Venetan and Eastern Lombard down to Molisano, excluding Apulian and Friulian. CT has developed a conditional form, like most Romance languages; however, it differs from the standard languages because its endings derive from two tense forms of HABERE: the indicative imperfect in the 1st person singular and in the 3rd person, the subjunctive pluperfect in the 2nd person singular and in the 1st and 2nd person plural. Furthermore, like all the spoken varieties of Northern Italy and France, CT has completely lost the perfect, and past meanings have consequently been framed in a binary opposition (imperfect vs. *passato prossimo*, the analytic² past tense). Finally, gerunds are hardly ever used in CT although they are still attested in some proverbs or sayings, and are now sometimes used as an effect of contact with Italian (see § 9.3.2).

- 1 The sections dedicated to inflectional morphology (§ 7.1–3) are focused on the current language, but with reference to the underlying diachronic processes. We have decided to include the diachronic descriptions because CT is rarely mentioned in the most important reference works on (diachronic) Romance verb morphology. For general overviews, we invite the interested reader to consult in particular Rohlfs (1968) on Italo-Romance and Maiden (2011a, b, 2016a, b) on a comparative Romance view.
- 2 For expository reasons, we keep the traditional opposition between ‘synthetic’ and ‘analytic’ verb forms, although the distinction is less clear-cut than these labels suggest. See Ledgeway (2012: 385) and Maiden (2016a: 497). In particular, in CT the subject clitics can be analysed as parts of the verbal morphology (§ 4.2); thus, strictly speaking the 2nd person singular and the 3rd person singular and plural of all tenses and moods should be termed ‘analytic’.

Section 7.2 deals with irregular verbs. The verbal system of CT was affected by some regularization processes that especially concern verbs with a stem alternation in the present indicative of Early Romance. These alternations have been maintained in most Romance languages (e.g. *LEGO*, *LEGIS* > It. *leggo*, *leggi* ‘I read, you read’ and **VENJO*, *VENIS* > It. *vengo*, *vieni* ‘I come, you come’) but hardly ever in CT (*lézo*, *lézi* and *vègno*, *vègni*). Nonetheless, there are some irregular verbs in CT: auxiliaries, modals, suppletive verbs and verbs with a monosyllabic infinitive, traditionally referred to as athematic (since they have a consonantic stem).

Past participles are the second main source of irregularities (§ 7.3), although some participles were regularised in their passage from Latin to CT. CT has added another irregular ending—an innovation adopted from Venetan which was absent in Latin—to some verbs: *-èst* (an analogical form based on participles in *-ist*, like *vist* ‘seen’).

CT uses a limited number of suffixes to form verbs from nouns and adjectives: in most cases, the suffix used is zero, and the endings are just attached to the nominal or adjectival stem. CT prefixes have all been inherited from Latin. In comparison with other Romance languages, the prefix *s-* (< Lat. *EX-*) is much more frequently used, and the prefix derived from Latin *AD-* occurs only rarely (§ 7.4).

Finally, CT contains an unusually high number of expressions formed with a verb and a locative element (adverb or preposition). While this construction is also found in spoken standard languages (especially Italian and French), in CT it is both more frequent (i.e., more expressions of this type exist) and more grammaticalised (the locative element often just has an aspectual value). This grammaticalisation path is common in Germanic languages like German, Dutch or English, but in the Romance domain it is only found in North-Eastern Italy and Eastern and Southern Switzerland. While the origin of the ‘Verb + Locative’ construction is internal to Romance (attested in spoken Latin), this advanced process of grammaticalisation may also have been accelerated by contact with German.

At the end of this chapter the reader can find the conjugation tables of regular, and of the most important irregular, verbs.

7.1 The Regular Verbal Conjugations

CT verbs—as the other Romance languages—have the internal structure ‘root + (theme vowel +) inflection’. The regular verbs can be divided into three conjugational classes, on the basis of the theme vowel following the root, which

can be *a*, *e* or *i*. In the first and third conjugation, the thematic vowel of the infinitive is always stressed; in the second conjugation the accent can be on the thematic vowel or on the last vowel of the root. Concerning the finite verb forms, CT has seven synthetic paradigms, all in the active voice (present, imperfect and future indicative; present and imperfect subjunctive; conditional; imperative) and nineteen analytic paradigms (seven in the active voice: *passato prossimo*, future perfect, pluperfect and *surcomposé* indicative; perfect and pluperfect subjunctive; past conditional; and twelve passive forms: all those of the active except for the *surcomposé* and the imperative).

All CT verbs have extended the ending of the 3rd singular to the 3rd plural, in all tenses and moods. This process is found in various regions of Italy: it spread beyond dialectal borders, and has occurred in Veneto (where it probably originated), the Eastern part of Lombardy, the Western Adriatic coast (as far as the border between Molise and Puglia), and in Istria on the Eastern coast (where it reached both Istrovenetan and Istriot); in Friuli, notwithstanding the long domination of the Republic of Venice, the phenomenon is not attested (Rohlf's 1968: § 532, Bauer & Casalicchio 2017). Note that ambiguity between 3rd singular and 3rd plural forms is avoided by the obligatory use of the subject clitic pronouns (see § 4.2).

In this section, we base our discussion on the forms used in the city of Trento (based on Groff 1955 and ALD). Alternative forms used in other localities within the CT area are discussed separately.³ To simplify matters, we always refer to the syncretic 3rd person ending as 3rd singular. Finally, the illustration of the morphological evolution of the conjugation system is largely based on Rohlf's (1968), to which we have made some additions, based on our consultation of historic texts written in CT, and by a (micro)comparative look made possible by consultation of the ALD.

7.1.1 *Present Indicative*

The indicative mood is related to the real world (*realis*). The present indicative tense is used for events that take place in the present, and that may be stative, habitual or ongoing. For progressive events, it alternates with aspectual periphrases (see § 8.2.2). Finally, it can also refer to events in the future, especially when a time adverbial referring to the future is present in the sentence.

The endings of the singular forms correspond to those of Italian. The 1st singular *-o* corresponds to Latin *-ō*; the 2nd singular *-i* comes from the generali-

3 The forms used in Cembra are mainly taken from Zörner (1989), the others from the atlases AIS and ALD and from personal communications.

sation—to all three conjugations—of the regular ending of the third, after the fall of the sigmatic ending (*dòrmi*).⁴ In the third singular, on the other hand, the third conjugation has taken *-e* from the second (*dòrme*), while the first keeps *-a* (*canta*). In the plural, the first conjugation forms derive from an extension of those of the second (*-én* < Latin *-EMUS* and *-é* < Latin *-ETIS*): *cantén*, *canté*. Within the third conjugation, a group of verbs has the Latin infix *-ISC-* > *-iss-*, which originally had inchoative value, which only shows up in the singular (e.g. *guarìr* ‘heal’, *guarisso* ‘I heal’).

Alternative forms: in the Rotaliana plain the forms of the 1st singular have the ending *-i*, which they share with Noneso and with the neighbouring Alpine Lombard dialects (*canti* ‘I sing’). According to Rohlf (1968: § 527), this ending derives from an extension of verbs where the *-i* is the etymological thematic vowel and may have been reanalysed as an ending: *dòrmi*, *sènti*. The alternative explanation is that the *-i* derives from the agglutination of a 1st person singular enclitic pronoun *-i*.⁵ Whatever its origin, the use of *-i* for the 1st singular does not create ambiguity, because the Rotaliana varieties have kept the Latin *-s* for the 2nd singular (*cantes*). The sigmatic ending for the 2nd person singular has also been retained in Cembrano (while the 1st singular, like in the urban dialects, has *-o*). The 2nd plural ending in Cembra, Rotaliana, and Noneso derives from a reanalysis of the enclitic subject pronoun *-o/u*: it ends in *-àò*, *-éo* and *-ìò* (*cantàò*, *vendéo*; cf. also Venetian: *parleu* ‘you speak’, *voleu* ‘you want’, Rohlf 1968: § 531).⁶

In the province of Trento, the forms of the 1st conjugation in which the thematic vowel *-a-* is stressed—such as the 1st and 2nd plural present (indicative and subjunctive) and all forms of the imperfect indicative and subjunctive and the 2nd plural of the imperative—give rise to two different outcomes. In one group of varieties the thematic vowel *-a-* has been maintained, while in the second it has become *-é-* (*cantàn* vs. *cantén*). The isogloss between these two outcomes crosses the urban area of CT, and the ALD-II attests that with some

4 According to Maiden (1996), however, the ending *-i* is the regular evolution of the Latin sigmatic ending.

5 Nowadays the usual 1st person enclitic pronoun is *-te* in this area (see § 4.5.2 and Cordin 2018). However, as noted by an anonymous reviewer, it is possible that the enclitic was *-i* (< EGO) at the time agglutination took place (as already proposed by Gartner 1883).

6 According to Benincà & Casalicchio (2013), this reanalysis did not start from interrogative contexts (where all CT varieties still have enclisis), but must have been originated when CT lost the Medieval Verb Second syntax (which all Medieval Romance varieties had in common, see Benincà 1994; 2006; Poletto 2014, Wolfe 2018).

persons/tenses even the two informants from the city of Trento differ in their choice, one using *-a-* and the other *-é-*. According to Rohlfs (1968: §530), the passage *-a- > -e-* in the first person plural of the present tense is found in Venetan, Ligurian, Emilian and Lombard, where it is already attested in the Middle Ages.

The distribution of *-à-* and *-é-* does not completely overlap in all tenses/moods. As far as the present indicative is concerned, the data from the AIS and ALD show that the ending *-é-* is used in the southern half of Trentino (in Trento, and south to the border with the Veneto, including the Giudicarie valley, Rendena and—to the east—Valsugana and Primiero). It is also found in the Venetan area covered by the ALD.⁷ The endings in *-à-*, meanwhile, have survived in the Northern part of the province of Trento, including CT, with the only exception of the city of Trento, where both outcomes are attested (*cantàn* vs. *cantén* 'we sing'). The city thus forms the border between the more conservative northern area and the innovative southern area. This geographic distribution suggests that the innovation *-à- > -é-* did not arise in Trentino, but arrived from Venetan or Lombard, reached Trento, and has not gone any further.

7.1.2 *Imperfect Indicative*

This tense is used to express statements that refer to habits or repeated events in the past, or to background events that serve as the frame for a main event.

In the urban dialect of Trento, analogical processes have greatly affected the imperfect forms: only the 3rd person is still directly related to the original Latin ending. All the other endings have been reshaped in analogy with those of the present (of the first and second conjugations); without this process, all singular forms would be syncretic and end in *-a*. Analogy has also led to columnar accent in the whole imperfect indicative paradigm: the accentuation of the thematic vowel, etymological in the singular forms, has been extended to the 1st and 2nd plural, where we would expect the ending to be stressed (cf. *cantàven* with *CAN-TABĀMUS* and Italian *cantavàmo*).

Alternative forms: The dialects of the Rotaliana have also extended their present endings to the imperfect: *-i* for the 1st singular, *-es* for the 2nd singular (also in Cembra) and *-(e)o* for the 2nd plural. On the other hand, Cembra has preserved the original ending *-a* for the 1st sg (< Lat. -AM: *cantava* 'I sang'). Until just a few decades ago this ending was also used in the city of Trento (Groff 1955

⁷ But note that in the 1st plural Northern Venetan varieties usually have *-om*. In any case, no Venetan variety has conserved the *-à-*.

cites only these forms: *gaveva* 'I had', *steva* 'I stood', *neva* 'I went' and *voleva* 'I wanted', but in the ALD-II we only find endings in *-o*, such as *magnavo/magnévo*).

A second alternation affects again the thematic vowel of the first conjugation, which may be *-à-* or *-é-*. This change mirrors that observed for the 1st and 2nd plural present endings, and has the same distribution within CT. Outside CT, *-é-* in the imperfect is most common in two discontinuous areas. The first comprises Rovereto and its surroundings, the Busa (Riva and Arco) with the Sarche and the northernmost part of the Giudicarie valley, and the southernmost part of the province (the southern border of this area coincides with the administrative border between the provinces of Trento and Verona). The second is found in Feltre, Belluno, Eastern Venetan and some conservative variety of the Venice Lagoon.⁸ The rest of the Venetan and Lombard area of the ALD has *-à-*, although, according to Rohlfs (1968: § 551), *-a- > -e-* is also found in various Lombard dialects (but not in those bordering with Trentino, as the ALD shows).

As in the case of the present forms, again the centre from which the innovation radiates out is not the city of Trento, which is only just touched by the isogloss. Also in this case, the heart of this innovation was probably the Veneto region, where the change is already attested in what is considered the first document in an old Italo-Romance variety, the *Indovinello veronese* (*pareba < PARABAT*, Vanelli 1993).⁹ Note that the spread of this feature in Trentino seems quite recent: in Papanti's collection of novels (Papanti 1875), the change *-à- > -é-* in the imperfect of regular verbs is only registered in the variety of Arco and in one of the two versions written in the dialect of Riva; in Rovereto and Trento it does not occur: we find forms like *pensava* ('she thought'), *soportava* ('he bore') and *cavava* ('he took out').¹⁰

7.1.3 Future Indicative

This verb form is used to refer to events in the future, or to express a hypothesis made by the speaker on the basis of concrete facts (so-called *epistemic future*).

The future indicative endings, including the alternative forms, are all modelled on the present indicative ending of (*g*)*avér* (which is slightly different in

8 A similar distribution was attested by the AIS, where *-é-* appears in the imperfect forms of Volano (close to Rovereto) and the area around Belluno.

9 Note that the current Veronese varieties show *-a-* and not *-e-* (maybe due to influence of other urban Venetan varieties or standard Italian).

10 Note that the forms in *-à-* could also have been influenced by the model, which is Boccaccio's Italian where the thematic vowel *-à-* regularly appears.

the subareas of CT, see below), since the CT future, as in Romance generally, derives from CANTARE HABEO, with a reanalysis of HABERE as the verbal ending. Note that the 1st conjugation thematic vowel becomes *-e-* in all dialects; the same pattern is found in Standard Italian.

7.1.4 *Perfect*

CT—like all Italo-romance dialects spoken north of the Po—has lost the perfect (called *passato remoto* in Italian). Found in the oldest Trentino texts (in the Giudicariiese *Passio* of 1400 we find forms such as *fo* < FUIT ‘he was’, *verso* < VERSAVIT, ‘he poured’, *querit* < *querir*, ‘he asked for’), it disappears completely over the following centuries. In Papanti (1875), we find no trace of it.

7.1.5 *Present Subjunctive*

The subjunctive mood is used in a range of contexts, which are all related—to varying degrees of transparency—with an *irrealis* semantics (e.g., counterfactuality or non-veridicality). The subjunctive can be used in both main and embedded clauses (see § 9.1 and § 9.5, respectively). Subjunctive—unlike indicative—tenses are not directly related to the reference time, but depend either on the feasibility of the wish or order (in main clauses), or on the tense of the matrix verb (in embedded clauses). The present subjunctive is thus used to indicate realizable wishes and orders in the present, and to indicate events that happen simultaneously to a matrix event in the present (for the *consecutio temporum*, see § 9.5).

The present subjunctive shows various simplifications and syncretisms. The conjugations all share the same ending (with a single difference in the plural). In the singular, 1st and 3rd person have *-a* (from the Latin *-AM* and *-AT* of the second and third conjugation), while the 2nd person has *-i* (probably an extension of the 2nd person present indicative): *canta-canti-canta*, *vènda-vèndi-vènda*. The singular endings of CT are the same as those found in most Venetan dialects. For all verbs, the plural forms are based on the respective indicative forms: the 1st person plural has the ending of the present indicative plus *-te*, which is the subject enclitic (see § 4.2), grammaticalised for this ending (*cantén-canténte* ‘we sing.IND-we sing.SBJV’), *vendén-vendénte* ‘we sell.IND-we sell.SBJV’). In the 2nd plural the ending *-ghe* is added to the indicative form: *canté-cantéghe* ‘we sing.IND-we sell.SBJV’), *vendé-vendéghe* ‘you sing.IND-you sell.SBJV’). This suffix may originally have been the locative/dative clitic *ghe*. Similar forms are found in Old Milanese *portégof* ‘(you carry’), Modern Bergamasco *troéghef* ‘(you find’), where an additional *-f* (from the subject enclitic pronoun *-vo/-f*) is present.

Finally, note that the verbs of the 3rd conjugation that have the infix *-ISC-* in the present indicative also have it at the present subjunctive (*guarissa* ‘I heal’).

Alternative forms: The varieties from the Rotaliana and parts of Cembra have the ending *-ia* instead of *-a* for the 1st singular and 3rd person. This ending may derive either etymologically from the Latin forms of the second and fourth conjugation (GAUDEAM, GAUDEAT viz. DORMIAM, DORMIAT), or, as suggested by Rohlfs (1968: § 558) for Alpine Lombard, from the subjunctive of irregular verbs like *sia* (‘I/(s)he be’). In the first conjugation, some scattered varieties use *-e* in the 3rd person, and some varieties conserve the thematic vowel *-ā-* in the 1st and 2nd plural, while most varieties have *-é-* here.

7.1.6 *Imperfect Subjunctive*

The imperfect subjunctive is used to express unrealizable wishes in the present (in main clauses), and to indicate simultaneity with past events (see § 9.1 and § 9.5, respectively).

The main characteristic of the imperfect subjunctive ending is the element *-ss-* (from the Latin plusquamperfect subjunctive, cf. CANTAVISSEM > CANTASSEM). In the singular, the ending is the same as the present subjunctive (*-a* for the first and third person and *-i* for the second person), while in the plural it has the same unstressed person ending as the imperfect indicative.

An important characteristic of CT is that all imperfect subjunctive forms (except for the verb *be*, see below) have a stressed ending (i.e., the thematic vowel is stressed throughout the paradigm). This has important consequences in a cross-Romance perspective, because it is probably connected to the loss of the so-called ‘PYTA roots’ in CT.¹¹ In fact, in Italo-Romance the PYTA-roots occur only when they are stressed, while the root of the infinitive is used when the stress is on the ending (e.g. It. *dissi-dicesti* ‘I said, you said’). In CT, the only stressed root for a PYTA form is that of the verb *èsser*, and indeed it is the only one that has maintained the Latin PYTA-root (*fu-*), see below. All other verbs lack both a dedicated stem and stress on the root.

Alternative forms: The *-a* in the ending (1st and 3rd singular) is optional in some local dialects, particularly in Rotaliana. The 2nd singular has the form *-sti* instead of *-ssi* in Rotaliana and Cembra (and also in Noneso), while the ending *-ssi* is typical of the urban area. In both the city of Trento and Levico, the common alternation between the thematic vowel *-a-* and the vowel *-e-* (*cantassa*

11 PYTA roots (the label comes from the Spanish ‘perfecto y formas afines’) maintain the Latin perfect stem (e.g. DIX- for ‘say’, CLAMAV- for ‘call’). In the modern Romance varieties, they appear especially in the perfect indicative and in the imperfect subjunctive forms (see Maiden 2011a).

vs. *cantéssa*) in the first conjugation is found, involving the 1st and 2nd plural forms. In the singular, on the other hand, this alternation is less frequent: the 1st singular never has *-e-*, while the 2nd and 3rd only have it in the variety of one ALD informant from Trento, the other informant preserves the *-a-*. In Levico, the 2nd singular (and the plural forms) have *-e-*, while the 1st and 3rd singular have *-a-*.

7.1.7 *Present Conditional*

The conditional mood is a Romance innovation that did not exist in Latin. Its use is quite homogeneous all over Romance. In the present tense it is used to indicate uncertainty: in the apodosis of irrealis conditional clauses, including wishes and expectations, and in rhetorical questions (see § 9.1 and § 9.3.1), in reported speech or to attenuate a statement.

In CT the present conditional has a “mixed” origin. The forms for the 1st and 3rd singular (*-ìa*) are based on the infinitive + the imperfect HABEBAM. These forms are also present in Venetan and in various other Romance varieties; their origin was debated, because HABEBAM should not become (*av*)*ìa* in Italo-romance (Rohlf 1968: § 593). In fact, the most recent studies propose that this ending is not the result of an internal evolution in Italo-romance, but rather that it was introduced from Provençal (Parkinson 2009, Castro 2019).

The endings of the 1st plural and 2nd singular and plural, on the other hand, derive from the infinitive + the imperfect subjunctive HABUISSEM. This system is also found in Venice (AIS), but differs completely from the Italian conditional, whose endings are based on the Latin perfect form HABUI.

Alternative forms: the second person singular has the ending *-ésti*, instead of *-éssi*, in Rotaliana and Cembra, mirroring the same alternation in the imperfect subjunctive.

7.1.8 *The (Positive) Imperative*

The imperative is the mood used to give orders.

The singular forms are based on the root + thematic vowel in the first and third conjugation, while the second has the ending *-i*. The plural forms correspond to the 2nd plural present indicative, apart from the fact that the enclitic subject has not been reanalysed as part of the ending in any of the varieties, unlike in the present indicative of the rural CT varieties (see above). These varieties thus distinguish between indicative and imperative (as did Latin, but with a different morphological pattern), while in the urban CT varieties the two forms are morphologically indistinguishable, as in many other Romance varieties.

7.1.9 *Non-finite Forms*

Non-finite forms cannot be used independently, but are used either in periphrases or in embedded clauses (see § 8.2.3 and §§ 9.2–3).

The **infinitive** is based on the Latin ending. Most verbs have maintained their Latin conjugations, while some have shifted from one conjugation to another. The first conjugation (-ĀRE) is the most stable, having undergone no significant change. The second (CT) conjugation comprises the second and third Latin conjugations (-ĒRE and -ĔRE). As in other Romance languages, there have been some stress shifts in both these conjugations: some second conjugation verbs (-ĒRE, so with the stress on the thematic vowel) now bear stress on the root (for example RIDĒRE > *rider* and VIDĒRE > *véder*), or vice versa (SAPĒRE > *savér*). Finally, the third conjugation derives from the fourth Latin conjugation (-ĪRE).

The **present participle** has not survived (except for borrowings from Italian); the **past participle** has, and it will be discussed in more detail in § 7.3.

The Romance **gerund**¹² is not common in CT; its rarity has led to the loss of the original ending -*ant/ando*, where the vowel -*a*- is an extension of the thematic vowel of the 1st conjugation to all verbs (also found in the Milanese author Bonvesin de la Riva). This ending is found in the oldest texts and is, in fact, the only gerund ending attested in the past centuries: in the *Statuti* of the 14th century (Schneller 1881) we find examples like *façando* ('doing'), *voiando* ('wanting'), *digando* ('saying'). Nowadays, speakers use the Italian ending -*ndo* (preserving the thematic vowel). The original ending, however, is still attested in some sayings and proverbs, as well as in some more peripheral varieties of the Province of Trento;

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------------------------|
| (1) | <i>Vegnir avanti a oci vedando</i>
come forward to eyes seeing
'Grow by the second' | (Pedrotti 1995: ex. (100)) |
| (2) | <i>Nar smonant</i>
go saying, silly, things
'Beat around the bush.' | (Pedrotti 1995: ex. (105)) |

The example (1) shows extension of the thematic vowel of the first conjugation -*a*- to the verb *véder*, of the second category. In (2), on the other hand, we see

12 With 'gerund' here we refer to the Romance-type participle, and not to verbal nouns, as typical for works on English.

the expected ending *-ant*, with loss of the final *-o* and final devoicing, according to the regular phonological evolution of CT (for the current uses of the gerund, see § 9.3.2).

7.1.10 *Analytic Forms*

Analytic forms are: i) in the indicative the *passato prossimo* (present perfect), the pluperfect, the future perfect and the so-called *surcomposé*; ii) in the subjunctive the perfect and the pluperfect; iii) the past conditional; iv) as non-finite forms: the past infinitive and the past gerund (the latter an Italianism). Moreover, all passive forms are analytic.

- i) The *passato prossimo* is used to indicate punctual events that happened in the past, or when the imperfect is excluded, e.g. for the main events of a story (while the imperfect is used for the frame). The pluperfect is used to refer to events that happened before a reference point located in the past. The future perfect refers to events that will have happened before a reference point in the future. Finally, the *surcomposé* has the structure ‘inflected auxiliary + participle of the auxiliary + past participle of a lexical verb’ (e.g. *ò bu magnà* lit. ‘I have had eaten’). It usually has aspectual value, and in Trentino it was more widespread in rural areas,¹³ like the Val di Non and the Ladin area: in these varieties it can be used instead of the *passato prossimo*, with an additional aspectual nuance of anteriority (cf. Poletto 2009 for Venetan).
- ii) The past and pluperfect subjunctive are used to express realizable and unrealizable wishes referring to the past, and in embedded clauses to indicate anteriority (see §§ 9.1 and 9.5).
- iii) The past conditional is used in conditional clauses, and in embedded clauses (§ 9.3.1), where it indicates posteriority to a past event, i.e. the future in the past (§ 9.2.2).
- iv) In non-finite verbs, the past form has mainly aspectual—and not temporal—value, indicating a completed event.

Analytic forms are constructed with an auxiliary verb and a past participle, the choice of the former depends on the lexical verb. The general rule is that unaccusative verbs select *èsser*, transitive and unergative verbs *avér*. However, the system has some peculiarities (especially with reflexive verbs), discussed in § 8.2.2. The passive is also formed analytically, usually with *vegnìr* (‘come’) in the forms that are synthetic in the active form (present, imperfect, future) and

13 In Papanti (1875), for example, the variety of Baselga di Piné is the only CT variety in which the *surcomposé* is found. The *surcomposé* is frequent in some dialectal poets of the Val di Non, e.g. Guglielmo Bertagnolli.

with *èsser* ('be') in the forms that are analytic in the active (*passato prossimo*, pluperfect, future perfect): e.g. *el vèn/vegniva/vegnirà ciamà* ('he is/was/will be called') vs. *el è/èra/sarà sta ciamà* ('he has been/had been/will have been called'). Although the passive exists, it is not used very often, since other constructions that allow the subject to be demoted are preferred (see § 8.3).

7.2 Irregular Verbs

In Romance, there are various types of irregular verbs. Some of them are also found in CT: auxiliaries (see above), suppletive verbs, modal verbs and verbs with a consonantic root (so-called athematic verbs). In addition, the evolution from Latin to Romance has led to the emergence of two further irregularities, which have been almost completely regularised in CT: the first concerns the palatalization of velar consonants when they are root-final and the ending is a front vowel: LEGO, LEGIS > It. *leggo, leggi* ('I read, you read'). This property has led to what has been described as 'U-pattern' (Maiden 2011b, 2016b): in Italian the root of these verbs ends with a velar consonant in the 1st person singular and 3rd person plural of the present indicative, and in all singular persons and in the 3rd person plural of the present subjunctive; the other persons of the present end with an affricate palato-alveolar consonant. CT has regularised these paradigms, extending the affricate consonant to all forms: the present paradigm of *lézer* ('read') is thus *lézo, lézi, léze, lezén, lezé* in the indicative, *léza, lézi, léza, lezénte, lezéghe* in the subjunctive. Cf. also the following verbs:

- (3) COGNOSCO, COGNOSCIS > *cognósso, cognóssi* ('I know, you know')
- CRESCO, CRESCIS > *créssso, créssi* ('I grow, you grow')
- PLANGO, PLANGIS > *pianzo, pianzi* ('I cry, you cry')
- VINCO, VINCIS > *vinzo, vinzi* ('I win, you win')

A notable exception is *dir* ('say'), which has kept the alternation in the present: *digo, disi* ('I say, you say'), see below.

A second important source of irregularities is the insertion of a yod between the root and the ending in Late Latin/Early Romance: this insertion affected only the first person singular and the third person plural of the present indicative, and all persons of the present subjunctive. The effects of the yod-insertion led to different outcomes in Romance. In CT they are mainly found with roots ending with the nasal *-n-*, which was palatalized due to the effect of the yod (*-n-* > *-gn-*). However, CT has extended the root with the palatalised nasal to all

forms of the present, except the 3rd person of the present indicative (see also the conjugation table):¹⁴

(4)	Classical Latin	Late Latin	Central Trentino
	VENIO	*venjo	<i>vègno</i>
	VENIS	*venis	<i>vègni</i>
	VENIT	*venit	<i>vèn</i>
	VENIMUS	*venimus	<i>vegnìn</i>
	VENITIS	*venitis	<i>vegnì</i>
	VENIUNT	*venjunt	<i>vèn</i>

In the rest of this section, we discuss the four main groups of irregular verbs of CT: auxiliaries, modal verbs, suppletive verbs and athematic verbs.

7.2.1 *Auxiliaries*

7.2.1.1 *Èsser*

In the present indicative, the 1st and 3rd singular derive regularly from Latin SUM and EST. The 2nd singular *séi* may either depend on an extension of the regular ending for 2nd singular *-i* to the form **sé*, after the final *-s* had fallen, or on a phonological process of shift from final *-s* to *-i* in monosyllables, as we find in Italian (cf. POS(T) > CT and It. *poi*, VOS > CT *vói(altri)*, It. *voi*). Note that in rural CT (Rotaliana and Cembra) the older form *sés* is still used. In the plural, the regular endings of the first and second conjugation have been extended to the forms of *èsser*: *sén*, like *cantén* (the expected form would be **són* < SUMUS) and *sé*, which is based on an analogical **SĒTIS* or on the regular ending *canté*, *vendé* (also the basis for Italian *siete*, Rohlfs 1968: §540).

The same (regular) verb endings are found in all the other tenses and moods. In the 1st person singular of the imperfect we again find the alternation between *-a* (the inherited, more conservative form, in Cembra), *-i* (in the Rotaliana) and the more recent *-o* (in the urban varieties). The imperfect forms have inherited the basis *er-* from Latin, while the future basis is *sar-*, which has been formed by analogy with forms like *darò* ('I will give'), *starò* ('I will stay'). This avoids any possible ambiguity between the imperfect and future forms (cf. the Latin future *ERO*, *ERIS* etc., vs. the imperfect *ERAM*, *ERAS*, etc.). The future

14 See Maiden (2011b, 2016b) for a principled discussion of the evolution of these patterns.

basis is also used for the conditional, with the endings of the regular conjugations. The present subjunctive is formed on the basis *si-* (cf. Latin *SIM, SIS, ...*), except for *sib-* in the 2nd singular, which is formed by analogy with (*g*)*abi* ('you have.SBJV'). Note that, like in Italian, the present subjunctive basis is also used as the imperative. The imperfect subjunctive has the basis *fus-*, the only PYTA-root that survived in CT.

The non-finite forms are the infinitive *èsser* (from a regularisation of Latin *ESSE*), the gerund *essèndo* (an Italian form) and the past participle *sta, stada*, which is suppletive: the latter forms derive from the verb *star* ('stay'), and nowadays *èsser* and *star* share the same past participle form, as in Italian.

7.2.1.2 (G)*avér*

Avér ('have') is used as auxiliary and as lexical verb; when it is lexical, it is augmented to *gavér*, which derives from the agglutination of the locative/dative clitic *ghe*, a common process in Northern Italian dialects. According to Benincà (2007), in the dialect of Padua *ghe* precedes all inflected forms of *avér*, both when used as an auxiliary and as a lexical verb. The clitic is, however, incompatible with non-finite forms. In CT, in contrast, the realisation of *ghe* depends on the nature of *avér*: it is used with the lexical verb, but never with the auxiliary (5a)–(5b); the lexical *gavér* and the functional *avér* are thus differentiated. Note that the clitic precedes even non-finite verb forms (5c), while clitics are usually enclitic to these forms. This shows that *g-* has—to a certain extent—been integrated into the verb basis. *Ghe* can, however, be separated from the verb by the clitic *ne* (5d) when the verb is inflected, although not by other clitics (5e). With the infinitive, *ghe* can actually occur twice, in both pre- and postverbal position (5f), demonstrating that *g-* continues to maintain a certain degree of independence:

- (5) a. *Gò fam.*
 there.CL=I.have hunger
 'I'm hungry'
- b. *Ò magnà.*
 I.have eaten
 'I ate/I have eaten.'
- c. *gavér fam / *avérghe fam*
 there.CL=have.INF hunger have=there.CL hunger
 'to be hungry'

- d. *ghe* *n'ò* *doi* / **ne* *gò* *doi*.
 there.CL of.them.CL=I.have two of.them.CL there.CL=I.have two
 'I have two of them.'
- e. *el* *gò*.
 him.CL there.CL=I.have
 'I have it.'
- f. *gavérghen* *dói*
 there.CL=have.INF=there.CL=of.it.CL two
 'to have two of them'

In the annex, the conjugation tables of the auxiliary *avér* (without *g-*) are given.

In the present, the basis is *a(v)-*, whereby the *-v-* only occurs in the plural. The forms take regular first conjugation endings, and in the 1st singular the *a* of the basis is fused with the following *-o*. In Rotaliana and Cembra the most common forms are *ai* for the 1st singular (the regular evolution of the Late Latin **ajo*), *as* for the 2nd singular and *avéo* for the 2nd plural. Note that the present endings of *avér* are also used as the future endings of all verbs, as is the rule in Romance.

The bases of the imperfect and the future are *avév-* and *aver-*, respectively. The endings and the alternations are those commonly found with these tenses. *Aver-* is also used as the basis for the conditional. In the present subjunctive, the basis *àbi-* is used for the present tense in the singular and *av-* in the plural. This alternation seems to be a result of the different stress position: *àbi-* bears stress on the first syllable, while *av-* is used with forms that stress the ending. The imperfect subjunctive is regularly formed with *avés-*. The imperative is formed with the subjunctive forms, and the non-finite forms are regular. Note that there are two forms of the past participle: *avù*, which retains the initial vowel, and *bu* (with loss of the fricative feature), which is nowadays considered archaic and rural.

7.2.2 Other Irregular Verbs

There are four main groups of irregular verbs: suppletive verbs (verbs with more than one stem), athematic verbs (with no thematic vowel in the stem), modal verbs and a small group of other types of irregular verb.

For irregular participles, see § 7.2.

7.2.2.1 Suppletive Verbs

CT has few suppletive verbs: suppletion¹⁵ is found almost exclusively in *èsser* and *nar* ('go'): the first has the participle forms derived from *star*, and the imperfect subjunctive from the root *fu-* (see above). The verb *nar* ('go') has two roots in the present indicative, one for the singular (and consequently also for the third person plural) and one for the 1st and 2nd plural. The suppletive character of the paradigm of *go* is common to all Romance languages. In CT, the singular is formed on the basis *va-* (< *VADERE*), the plural on the basis *n-* (maybe from Late Latin < **nare* ('swim'), evolved from Classical *NARI*¹⁶). In the first person singular and in the singular forms of the present subjunctive, *va-* has an infix *-g-*, which derives from analogy to *digo*, *diga* etc. (from *dir* 'say'). On the other hand, the 1st and 2nd plural subjunctive is formed with the basis *n-* as in the indicative. All the other forms are just formed with the basis *n-*.

7.2.2.2 Athematic Verbs

The term 'athematic' is usually applied to those Romance verbs that have a monosyllabic basis: *dir* ('say'), *dar* ('give'), *far* ('do'), *star* ('stay'). In CT *nar* ('go')—also a suppletive verb—and *tòr* ('take') are additions to this group—the latter is the only verb which cannot be placed in any conjugation class (since infinitives in *-or* do not exist). The base of athematic verbs is therefore formed, at least in some persons, with the initial consonant alone, and consequently, they are highly irregular. A number of varieties have therefore resorted to analogy to reduce these irregularities; the analogy process mainly affects the 1st singular of the present indicative and all singular persons of the present subjunctive: the regular etymological ending of one of these verbs is used as the basis for the other athematic verbs. In both urban CT and in Cembra, the forms of *dir* ('say'), whose 1st person present is *digo* (< *DICO*), have evolved regularly and serve as a model for the others: the consonant *-g-* is extended to the other irregular verbs of this type, in order to "reinforce" the basis. We thus find *dago* ('I

15 Here we refer to suppletion as to the coexistence of completely different roots in the paradigm of the same verb. Alternations like *vègn-* and *vèn* are thus not considered in this paragraph.

16 The etymology of the forms like CT *nar*, It. *andare*, Fr. *aller* is unclear and still debated. One option is from Latin *AMBULARE*/**AMBITARE*; others derive it from *AD-IRE*, from Late Latin **(AD-)NARE* or from IE **atno-* < **at-* ('wander, wander about'). See e.g. Rohlfs (1966: § 237), Bonfante (1955, 1963–1964), Mańczak (1974), Prosdocimi (1993), LEI (s.v. *andare*), Alinei (2010). In any case, as far as CT is concerned, the etymology from **(AD-)NARE* seems to be the most straightforward, especially if we consider that CT does not have the process *nd>n*, present in some Ladin varieties.

give'), *fago* ('I do'),¹⁷ *stago* ('I stay'), *vago* ('I go') and *tògo* ('I take') as 1st present indicative; the same basis is used for all singular forms of the present subjunctive paradigm, while the plural subjunctive forms are either also formed with the infix *-g-* (e.g. *stégghen*, 'that we stay'), or with the form of the indicative plus the suffix *-te* (for 1st person) and *-ghe* (for 2nd person), e.g. *dénte*, 'that we give'. In CT these verbs thus show the N-pattern (Maiden 2011b, 2016b). The Rotaliana area, on the other hand, takes the verb *èsser* as the basis for the 1st person indicative (*són*): *dón* ('I give'), *fón* ('I do'), *stón* ('I stay'), *vón* ('I go'), although it shares *digo* and *tògo* with the rest of the CT area. This pattern is also found in the valleys of Non and Sole. This difference between the Rotaliana variety and the other CT varieties is only found in the 1st present indicative: in the subjunctive the infix *-g-* is used in all varieties.

Some remarks about each verb follow. The whole paradigm of *dir* ('say') evolved regularly from Latin (except for the changes common to all CT verbs). The alternation between the two bases *dig-* and *dis-* is a result of the fact that the velar or palatal pronunciation of Latin *c-* depends on the following vowel. The only irregular form is the infinitive *dir* (instead of the expected **diser*). The past participle *dit*, *dita* (and not **dida*) evolved regularly from Latin *DICTUM*, *DICTAM*.

The verbs *dar* ('give'), *far* ('do'), *star* ('stay') and the forms of *nar* based on the basis *n(a)-* are conjugated, apart from the forms with the infix *-g-*, like regular first conjugation verbs. The only additional irregular form is the past participle *dat-* (instead of the expected **dad-*), which may be due to dissimilation, or to analogy with *fat* ('done') and *dit* ('said'), which are regular forms (< *FACTUM*, *DICTUM*). *Star* and *nar* have the regular participle bases *stad-* and *nad-*.

Finally, *tòr* comes from Latin *TOLLĒRE* (cf. Italian *togliere*) and its regular basis is therefore *tol-*, which shows up in all the forms that do not have the infix *-g-*: with the infix, the liquid /l/ disappears, unlike in Italian (*tolgo*). The *-l-* forms of *tòr* behave like a second conjugation verb, except for the 2nd singular and 3rd singular of the present indicative, which only have the basis *tòl*, without any ending (vs. the expected **te toli*, **el tole*). This feature is shared, for the 3rd person, by the modal verbs *volér* ('want') and *podér* ('be able'). Finally, the 2nd singular imperative—*tò/tòi*—lacks the *-l-* of the basis.

17 But according to Rohlfs (1968: § 546), *fago* is not derived via analogy from *digo*, but from a Late Latin form **FACO* (instead of Classical *FACIO*).

7.2.2.3 Modal Verbs

CT has two irregular modal verbs: *volér* ('want') and *podér* ('be able'). To express a necessity, *gavér da* (lit. 'have to'), *cognér* (rural) and *dovér* are used (see § 8.2). *Gavér da* is conjugated like the lexical *gavér*, while *cognér* is regularly inflected. *Dovér* shows the same alternation *dov-/dév-* as in Italian.

Volér was highly irregular in Latin (*VELLE*), but was then partially regularised in Late Latin/Old Romance, usually generalising the basis **vol(j)-* to all persons. CT is no exception, although some unusual irregularities developed during its evolution. In the present indicative, the *-l-* falls in the 1st and 2nd singular (probably because the palatal lateral /*ʎ*/, derived from *-LJ-*, was turned into /*j*/, as happened in the plural forms of nouns ending in /*l*/: **kavali* > **kavàʎ* > *kavàj*), and the 1st singular ends in *-i* instead of *-o*. In the 3rd present indicative, in contrast, the ending is missing, and the basis form *vòl* appears, like in *podér* and *tòr* ('take'). The future and conditional forms are based on a reduced form of the infinitive (*vor-* instead of *voler-*), while the singular forms of the present subjunctive show the infix *-g-*, typical of athematic verbs. Finally, the past participle can be in *-ést-* or in *-ud-*, as is the case for many other second conjugation verbs (see below, § 7.3).

The verb *podér* ('be able') was also irregular in Latin (*POSSE*), and it is often replaced by *èsser bòn de* (lit. "to be good of"). In Latin, it had the bases *POT-* and *POS-*, and this alternation has survived in most Romance languages as 'L- or U-pattern' (see above). However, CT extended the root *pod-* (regularly evolved from *POT-*) to all persons, with the only exception of the 3rd present indicative form (*pòl*): this form does not derive from Latin, but it is based on *vòl* (from *volér* 'want'), except when it is followed by a subject clitic pronoun: in this case, the root *pod-* is used (e.g. *pòdel?* 'Can he?').

7.2.2.4 Other Irregular Verbs: *vegnìr*, *tegnìr* and *savér*

The verb *vegnìr* ('come') has been almost completely regularised in CT: the *-gn-* in the first person singular is a regular phonological process (*VENEO* > **venjo* > *vègno*), but *vegn-* has then be extended to all other forms of the verb, except for the 3rd person of the present indicative *vèn* and for the second person singular of the imperative *vèi*.

The verb *tegnìr* ('hold') evolved like *vegnìr*: all forms of the paradigm have the root *tegn-*, except for the 3rd present indicative *tèn* and the 2nd singular imperative *tèi*.

Finally, *savér* ('know') shows a different type of irregularity: in other Romance varieties it has more than one basis, but in CT there are three: the regularly evolved *sav-*, which shows up in arizothonic forms, the shortened *s(a)-* in rhizotonic forms, and the basis *sap-*, which has specialised for the present

subjunctive and must derive from a basis **sapp-* (maybe from Italian?), while *sav-* comes from **sap-*, through the regular fricativisation of the intervocalic *-p-* (through the intermediate stage *-b-* > *-β-*).

7.3 Past Participle Formation

In CT, the past participles of regular verbs are formed by the addition of the element *-d-* to the verb stem. The *-d-* is then followed by the nominal and adjectival ending expressing gender and number, except for the masculine singular, where the *-d-*, too, has fallen, and thus the verbal stem, with final stress, expresses the masculine singular past participle: for *magnàr* ('eat'), for example, the forms are *magnà*, *magnada*, *magnadi*, *magnade*. Note that the second conjugation thematic vowel changes from *-e-* to *-u-*: the past participle of *béver* has the base *bevud-*. In CT, various irregular participles have been regularised, so for example *lezù* (< *lézer* 'read', Latin *LECTUM* and Italian *letto*) and *sponzù* (< *spónzer* 'sting', Latin *PUNCTUM*, It. *punto*).

Nonetheless, we still find various irregular participles in CT, which usually derive from irregular Latin forms. Most of the Latin participles formed with *-s-* or *-ss-* have kept the *-s* ending, examples are *més* (< *méter* 'put', from Latin *MISSUM*, which alternates with *metù*), *suzès* (< *suzéder* 'happen', from Latin *SUCCESSUM*). The ending in *-s* has also been extended to some other verbs, such as *pèrs* (Latin *PERDITUM*, from *pèrder* 'lose').

The Latin forms that ended with the nexus 'consonant + *t*' also tend to maintain the original form, we find, for instance, *víst* (< Late Latin *VISTUM*, from *véder*), *mòrt* (< *MORTUUM*, from *morìr* 'die'), *sofèrt* (< adjective *SUFFERTUM*, used as participle of *sofrìr* 'suffer'). If the consonant preceding the dental is itself an occlusive (in the nexus *-ct-* or *-pt-*), it was first assimilated to *-tt-* and then degeminated to *-t-*. *Dit* (< *DICTUM* from *dir* 'say'), *fat* (< *FACTUM* from *far* 'do'), *scrit* (< *SCRIPTUM* from *scrìver* 'write') exemplify this group.

Some second conjugation verbs form participles with *-èst/-ést*, an ending typical of Venetan varieties which derives from the regularisation of irregular participles like *visto* (from *vedere*) and *mosto* (Old Venetan; from *movere*, through analogy with *posto*, 'put'), which became *vedesto* and *movesto*; this formant is attested as early as Medieval Venetan (Ascoli 1878; Jaberg 1936; Rohlf 1968: § 624).¹⁸ It is found throughout the Venetan area, and is particularly wide-

18 For more details on the evolution of *-esto* in Venetan, see Catoni (1947–1948) and Maschi & Penello (2004: 29–31).

spread in the area of Belluno and Feltre (which borders the Valsugana), where it is the only ending used for second conjugation verbs (Maschi & Penello 2004: 24). The ending *-esto* is also quite common in the Valsugana (although some verbs keep the ending in *-ù*), where it has even been extended to the third conjugation, with some participles ending in *-isto* (e.g. *dormisto* ‘slept’, *sentisto* ‘heard’, *rompisto* from *rompir* ‘break’, see Prati 1916: 32).

The ending *-èsto* has penetrated into the rest of Trentino from the Valsugana (and, indeed, from the Veneto), losing the final *-o* (except in Southern Trentino) in accordance with the phonological rules of CT (see Chapter 1). We therefore find forms like *descorèst* (‘talked about’) in Cembra (Aneggi 1984), and *podèst*, *cognèst* and *volèst* (‘been able’, ‘had to’ and ‘wanted’, respectively) in Noneso (Quaresima 1964). Note that no clear border can be drawn between varieties with or without participles in *-èst(o)*. In many cases this form coexists with the form in *-ù*, and the alternation can be free, diatopic, or generational; it is therefore impossible to predict which second conjugation verbs will have a participle in *-èst* in any given local dialect. This said, the varieties in areas closer to the Valsugana—with its Venetan dialects—contain more forms in *-èst* than do other varieties.

Table 37 shows the occurrence of participles in *-èst* in CT (data taken from AIS and ALD), of which the most widespread are *piovèst* (‘rained’), *plasèst* (‘pleased’), *podèst* (‘been able’) *tasèst* (‘remained silent’) and *savèst* (‘known’), which alternates in many places with *savù*. Other verbs where we find the ending *-èst*, according to our sources, are *credèst* (‘believed’), *discorèst* (‘talked about’—this verb just occurs in Trento), *volèst* (attested for Trento in Papanti 1875, but not investigated in the two atlases) and *dovèst* (used also by E. Bonapace¹⁹). *Sponzèsto* (‘stung’) and *vegnèsto* (‘come’) are only attested in Levico,²⁰ where they coexist with the regular *sponzù* and *vegnù* (masculine plural). The fact that the dialect of Levico contains the highest number of participles in *-ésto* is not surprising given that the town lies on the border between the CT area and that of the Valsugana dialects. Indeed, this type of participle is also quite widespread in the Cembra valley (apart from Sicina), which is linked to the Valsugana area by secondary roads. Areas further from the Valsugana, such as the urban CT area and the Rotaliana, are less affected by this innovation, and

19 The example is:

(i) *L'è sta 'n caso che ò dovest vegnir en zità* (Bonapace, 127)
it-is been a case that I.have had.to come in town
‘It was a case that I had to come to the town.’

20 Note that in Levico the stressed vowel is closed (as in the other localities of Valsugana), while it is open in the rest of the CT area.

TABLE 37 The use of the ending *-est(o)* in CT²¹

Italian stimulus	Rural Central Trentino							Urban Central Trentino						
	Rotaliana			Cembra				Valle dei Laghi (West of Trento)	City of Trento		Western Valsugana (East of Trento)			
	Roveré	Mezzocorona	San Michele	Sicina	Segonzano	Cembra	Faver	Vezzano	Trento 1	Trento 2	Vigolo Vattaro	Civezzano	Viavago	Levico
	ALD 63	ALD 65	ALD 66	ALD 111	ALD 112	ALD 113	AIS 332	ALD 67	ALD 121	ALD 122	ALD 123	ALD 120	AIS 333	ALD 119
bevuto 'drunk'	x	x	x	x	x	x	–	x	x	x	x	x	–	x
conosciuto 'known'	x	x	x	x	x	x	–	x	x	x	x	x	–	x
venuti 'come'	x	x	x	–	–	x	–	x	x	x	x	x	–	xv
punto 'stung'	x	–	x	–	x	–	–	x	x	–	–	x	–	xv
dovuto 'had to'	vx	x	x	x	x	v	–	x	x	x	v	x	–	v
creduto 'believed'	x	v	x	x	v	v	–	x	x	x	x	x	–	xv
piaciuto 'pleased'	xv	v	x	x	v	v	–	x	x	x	x	x	–	vx
piovuto 'rained'	v	v	v	x	v	v	v	x	v	x	x	v	v	xv

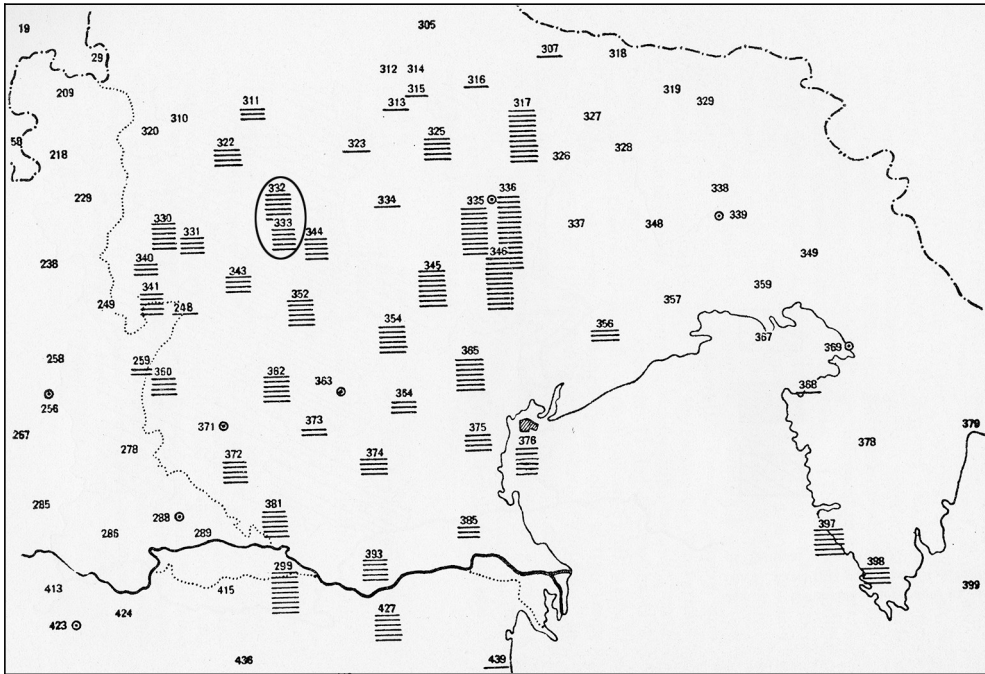
21 In Table 37, ‘x’ indicates that the participle in *-est(o)* is not attested, ‘v’ that it is. If the informant gave two answers, the first one is indicated on the left (thus, ‘xv’ means that the first answer was a form without *-est(o)*, and ‘vx’ the other way around). Missing data are indicated with ‘–’.

TABLE 37 The use of the ending *-èst(o)* in CT (*cont.*)

Italian stimulus	Rural Central Trentino							Urban Central Trentino						
	Rotaliana			Cembra				Valle dei Laghi (West of Trento)	City of Trento		Western Valsugana (East of Trento)			
	Roverè	Mezzocorona	San Michele	Sicina	Segonzano	Cembra	Faver	Vezzano	Trento 1	Trento 2	Vigolo Vattaro	Civezzano	Viavago	Levico
	ALD 63	ALD 65	ALD 66	ALD 111	ALD 112	ALD 113	AIS 332	ALD 67	ALD 121	ALD 122	ALD 123	ALD 120	AIS 333	ALD 119
discorso 'talked'	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	v	v	v	–	–	–	–
taciuto 'not spoken'	x	v	x	x	v	v	–	v	v	v	v	v	–	–
saputo 'known'	xv	xv	xv	x	xv	xv	v	xv	xv	v	v	v	v	xv
potuto 'been able'	v	v	x	x	v	v	v	xv	v	xv	v	v	v	vx

Sicina and Vezzano almost entirely lack *-èst* (although *savèst* is a second option in Vezzano). Note that some verbs in the CT area never have a participle in *-èst*: *bevù* ('drunk') and *conossù* ('met, got to know'), for instance—compare these forms with *be(v)èsto* and *conossèsto* in the Valsugana.

Map 7 shows the number of occurrences of participles in *-esto* in the AIS: the areas of central and eastern Trentino, as well as most of Veneto, are those with the highest number of occurrences.



MAP 7 The number of participles in *-est(o)* occurring in the AIS (Zamboni 1974, taken from Jaberg 1936); Faver is the point 332, Viara 333.

7.4 Verb Formation

In CT we find verbs formed by nouns, adjectives and other verbs. Nouns and adjectives can be modified to verbs using a suffix (like *-z-*, *-ol-* or *-en-*), although in the most common process there is no phonologically realised suffix. Prefixes, on the other hand, usually modify already existing verbs, which can also be denominal or deadjectival.

7.4.1 Denominal and Deadjectival Verbs

Denominal verbs may be formed simply by attaching a verbal suffix to a noun; the semantics then usually correspond to 'do N', or 'use N' (unless a prefix conveying a particular meaning is present). The suffixes used are *-egàr*, *-inàr*, *-olàr*, *-onàr* and *-zàr*, and they all form verbs of the first conjugation. Note that in some cases a suffix can be augmented: e.g. *-esinàr* (*-ezàr* + *-inàr*). As in other Romance languages, it is very difficult to relate verbal suffixes to a specific meaning or aspect (unlike prefixes, see § 3.2). See Table 38.

Deadjectival verbs can also be formed with a zero suffix. Moreover, some of the suffixes that are used for denominal verbs can also form verbs from adject-

TABLE 38 Suffixes for denominal verbs

Suffix	CT verb	English correspondent
Zero (and zero prefix)	<i>andonàr</i> (< <i>andóna</i> ‘sheaf’)	sheaf, bundle wheat into sheaves
	<i>rugàr</i> (< <i>ruga</i> ‘wrinkle’)	get upset, to get worried
	<i>falàr</i> (< <i>fal</i> ‘error’)	make a mistake, do something wrong
	<i>ciacolàr</i> (< <i>ciàcola</i> ‘chat’)	chat
	<i>zapàr</i> (< <i>zapa</i> ‘hoe’)	hoe
Zero (but with a prefix)	<i>deszolàr</i> (< <i>zòla</i> ‘hook to button up clothes’)	undo
	<i>envizzjàr</i> (< <i>vizzi</i> ‘bad habit’)	spoil
	<i>sbecàr</i> (< <i>bèch</i> ‘brink’)	chip
	<i>travasàr</i> (< <i>vas</i> ‘vase’)	decant
-egàr	<i>desmentegàr</i> (< <i>mént</i> ‘mind’)	forget
	<i>rampegàr</i> (< <i>rampa</i> ‘ramp’)	climb
	<i>sfiadegarse</i> (< <i>fià</i> ‘breath’)	pant
-inàr	<i>scantinàr</i> (< <i>cant(o)</i> ‘song’)	sing out of tune
-olàr	<i>becolàr</i> (< <i>bèch</i> ‘beak’)	peck here and there
	<i>smanzolàr</i> (< <i>manz</i> ‘ox’)	stroke cattle
-onàr	<i>cristonàr</i> (< <i>Crist</i> ‘Christ’)	swear
	<i>sfianconàr</i> (< <i>fànch</i> ‘flank’)	hit with the hips
-zàr	<i>botezàr</i> (< <i>bòt</i> ‘toll of a bell’)	ring
	<i>tapezàr</i> (< <i>tapét</i> ‘carpet’)	(wall)paper, decorate with hangings

TABLE 39 Suffixes for deadjectival verbs

Suffix	CT Verb	English correspondent
zero	<i>mondàr</i> (< <i>mónd</i> ‘clean’)	peel
	<i>desgrezàr</i> (< <i>gréz</i> ‘rough, raw’)	polish, take away the roughness of a material
	<i>engrisarse</i> (< <i>gris</i> ‘grey’)	become grey
-egàr	<i>zopegàr</i> (< <i>zòp</i> ‘lame’)	limp
-enàr	<i>scarmenàr</i> (< <i>scarmo</i> ‘emaciated’)	spill, leak
-inàr	<i>smolesinàr</i> (< <i>mòl</i> ‘soft, weak’)	soften
-zàr	<i>sbianzàr</i> , <i>sbianchezàr</i> (< <i>bianch</i> ‘white’)	whiten
	<i>sbiozzàr</i> (< <i>biòt</i> ‘naked, pure’)	shell (nuts)
-zer	<i>coèrzer</i> (< <i>coèrt</i> ‘covered’)	cover

ives. A stressless suffix, *-zer*, the only one not belonging to the first conjugation, is used only by the related verbs *coèrzer* ('cover'), *avèrzer* ('open'), *(de)scoèrzer* ('uncover'), all of which are formed from past participles ending in *-t*: *coèrt*, *(d)avèrt* (in origin from *COPERIRE*, *APERIRE*), etc. See Table 39.

7.4.2 Verbal Prefixes

CT prefixes are inherited from Latin and are therefore shared with other Romance languages. Two unusual features, however, are rarely found in other Romance languages:

- the prefix derived from Lat. *AD-* sometimes occurs as *ar-*, but is usually either replaced by other prefixes (mainly *s-*) or not realised at all.
- the prefix *s-* has a widespread use, since it occurs with a higher number of verbs than in other Romance languages: in CT it sometimes replaces other prefixes, or is used with verbs that are unprefixes in other Romance varieties.

7.4.2.1 The Verbal Prefixes *ar-*, *des-*, *en-*, *sdr(a)-* and *tra-*

The prefix *ar-* is associated with two different semantic values: one indicating repetition (< Latin *RE-*), used to form deverbal verbs, and one indicating approach, for denominal and deadjectival verbs (either literal or figurative, from Latin *AD-*). The form *ar-* itself may be due to a crossing of the two Latin prefixes.²² Note that where it succeeds *AD-*, it suffers the concurrence of a prefix zero, which usually prevails (see *infra*). Unlike Italian *ri-* (< *RE*), which is still productive, *ar-* is now lexicalised with a certain number of verbs (Table 40).

Des- (< *DE* + *EX*) has two main values: negative ('not to do *x*') and reversative ('undo *x*'). In addition, it has a value of separation in the case of denominal verbs. This usage exactly mirrors the Spanish *des-*, but differs from Italian, because CT *des-* usually corresponds to Italian *s-*, and only in rare cases to Italian *de-* or *dis-* (Table 41).

En- (< *IN-*) is less widespread in CT than in other Romance languages: while in Italian, for instance, *in-* has three main meanings (1. 'inside, within', with prefixed verbs inherited from Latin; 2. negation; 3. make, become), in CT *en-* usually occurs only with this last value; however, we find it in some cases to indicate approach to a state, while other Romance languages use *a(d)*. Finally, note the verb *rencuràr*, which is composed by *re-* and *en-* (Table 42).

22 An alternative explanation, namely that *ar-* derives from *R(E)-* with a preceding epenthetic vowel, seems less convincing because in CT the epenthetic vowel is not *a*.

TABLE 40 The use of the prefix *ar-* and of the zero prefix (when indicating approach)

CT form	Root	English translation
<i>ar-</i> indicating repetition		
<i>arsolàr</i>	<i>solàr</i> (< <i>sòla</i> 'sole')	resole shoes
<i>arsanàr</i>	<i>sanàr</i> (< <i>san</i> 'healthy')	heal
<i>ar-</i> indicating approach		
<i>arbassàr</i>	<i>bas</i> ('low')	lower
<i>arcoàr</i>	<i>cóa</i> ('sheaf')	sheaf, bundle into sheaves
<i>arlevàr</i>	Lat. ADLEVARE	rear, farm,
zero prefix indicating approach		
<i>rampegàr</i>	<i>rampa</i> ('ramp')	climb
<i>guzzàr</i>	<i>agùz</i> ('sharp')	sharpen
<i>binàr</i>	Lat. BINA (pair)	find, collect

TABLE 41 The use of the prefix *des-*

Type of verb	CT example	Basis	English translation
Denominal verbs	<i>desgiazzàr</i>	<i>giazzàr</i> ('freeze'; < <i>giaz</i> 'ice')	defrost
	<i>descognàr</i>	<i>cògn</i> ('wedge')	unwedge a cart or a door
	<i>deszolàr</i>	<i>zòla</i> ('hook to button up a dress')	undo a dress
Deverbal verbs	<i>desligàr</i>	<i>ligàr</i> ('tie, bind')	untie
	<i>desfàr</i>	<i>far</i> ('do')	undo
	<i>descosìr</i>	<i>cosìr</i> ('sew')	unpick
Deadjectival verbs	<i>desgrezzàr</i>	<i>grézzo</i> ('raw, untreated')	polish, take away the rawness
	<i>descoèrzer</i>	<i>coèrzer</i> ('cover'; < <i>coèrt</i> , 'covered')	uncover

Other, less frequent, prefixes are *per-* with distributive reading (< PER-), *sdra/stra-* indicating a position outside (< EXTRA-), and its opposite *tra-/fra-* (< INTRA/INFRA-). Note that *per-* is usually augmented by a preceding suffix, namely *s-* (Table 43).

TABLE 42 The use of the prefix *en-* (and *ren-*)

CT example	Basis	English translation
<i>embiancarse</i>	<i>bianch</i> ('white')	whiten
<i>enbachetàr</i>	<i>bachéta</i> ('stake')	stake (tomato or bean plants, etc.)
<i>enbotonàr</i>	<i>botón</i> ('button')	button up
<i>envizzziàr</i>	<i>vizzi</i> ('bad habit')	spoil
<i>rencuràr</i>	<i>cura</i> ('care')	take care of someone, especially of children

TABLE 43 The use of the prefixes (*s*)*per*-, *s**dra*-/ *s**tra*- and *tra*-/ *f**ra*

Prefix	CT example	basis	English translation
<i>(s +) per-</i>	<i>spermezzàr</i>	<i>mèz</i> ('half')	halve
	<i>percaciàr</i>	<i>càcia</i> ('hunting')	go to find food
<i>s</i> <i>dra</i> -/ <i>s</i> <i>tra</i> -	<i>sdravacàr</i>	<i>vaca</i> ('cow')	sprawl
	<i>stravaliàr</i>	<i>vallo?</i> ('even, flat')	be delirious
<i>tra</i> -/ <i>f</i> <i>ra</i> -	<i>travasàr</i>	<i>vas</i> ('vase')	decant
	<i>(s)f</i> <i>rabotolàr</i>	<i>bòt</i> (onomatopoeic base, cf. It. <i>borbottare</i>)	mutter, grumble

7.4.2.2 The Prefix *s-*

The prefix *s-* derives from Latin *EX-*. It is by far the most frequent prefix, and is used with much more verbs than in other Romance languages. The functions of the prefix *s-* throughout Romance can be traced back to two semantic areas (see also § 2.4 on the nominal derivation with the prefix *s-*):

1. The locative value of *EX-*: this is the original value, and it can be further divided into four subgroups:
 - a. The privative value (something is removed/extracted from an item);
 - b. The separative value (the item is removed from its original position);
 - c. The approach value (the item moves towards something);
 - d. A change of state value, which is closely related to the approach value.

Note that the approach value is usually expressed in Romance through the continuators of Latin *AD-*; in CT, in contrast, it is frequently expressed through *s-*.

2. The intensive value of *EX*.

The prefix *s-* in CT lacks (other than in some restricted cases) the privative and separative meanings that are found in other Romance languages; overall, however, the prefix *s-* occurs with a significantly high number of verbs. This widespread distribution is due to two factors: first of all, the intensive value of *s-*, inherited from Latin, is widespread: in CT *s-* only has a slight intensive value, unlike in other languages, where *s-* is still quite strong. Moreover, verbs with the prefix *s-* are more common in CT because intensification is a typical strategy of spoken languages (together with doubling, repetitions, etc.).²³

Second, the prefix *s-* is variously used in CT when other Romance languages have other prefixes (especially *a(d)-*), or unprefixes verbs: to indicate approach (where *a(d)-* is generally used, point 1c of the list above), a change of state (vs. *di-/de-* of other languages, point 1d), and in onomatopoeic verbs referring to animal sounds (a value derived from the intensive one). This last use has been extended metaphorically, with a pejorative meaning, to other types of sounds. Table 44 resumes the different values, that are described below.

Locative value:

- **Privative EX-**; found in CT especially with verbs directly inherited from Latin (as in the case of *sfoiàr* and *scortegàr*, cf. Treccani s.v. ‘sfogliare’ and ‘scorticare’ for Italian), while verbs with privative value created in CT usually have *des-*. The minimal couple *scoèrzer* (‘cover’) vs. *descoèrzer* (‘discover’) demonstrate this clearly: the prefix *s-* has intensive value, now lexicalised, while the privative ‘uncover’ is formed with the prefix *des-*;
- **Separative EX-**; *s-* refers to activities that involve leaving a place or object (literally or metaphorically, as in *scantinàr*);
- **Approach**; this value is usually expressed through *a(d)-* in most Romance languages; in CT, however, it may be expressed by *a(r)-*, by a zero prefix or by *s-*;
- **Change of state**; in CT, this value may either be expressed by *en-* or, more rarely, *s-*. Note the concept of ‘shelling nuts’ in Table 44, where the basis indicates the final state (i.e. the ‘naked’ nut).²⁴

23 Of course, all Romance languages also have a spoken dimension. In the spoken language, however, other strategies or intensification are generally preferred.

24 This verb is particularly interesting in a comparative view: in Italian *sgusciare* is used for the same concept, but in this case the prefix *s-* has a separative value: the base is not the result, as in CT, but the origin (namely the shell of the nut, *guscio*). This neatly demonstrates the different distribution of *s-* in CT and in other Romance languages like Italian: in the latter the value is usually separative, while in CT other values predominate.

TABLE 44 Examples of the different values of the prefix *s-*

CT example	Basis	English translation
Locative value		
Privative <i>s-</i>		
<i>sfoiàr</i>	< EXFOLIARE	defoliate
<i>scortegàr</i>	< EXCORTICARE	skin (especially pigs)
Separative <i>s-</i>		
<i>scampàr</i>	<i>camp</i> ('field')	escape
<i>svasàr</i>	<i>vas</i> ('vase')	to clear a riverbed
<i>scantinàr</i>	<i>cant(o)</i> ('song')	sing out of tune, squeak
The prefix <i>s-</i> indicates approach		
<i>slargàr</i> (<i>fōra</i>)	<i>larch</i> ('broad')	broaden
<i>slontanàr</i>	<i>lontàn</i> ('far')	move away
Change of state		
<i>spavelàr</i>	<i>pavèla</i> ('butterfly')	emerge from the cocoon as a butterfly
<i>sbiozzàr</i>	<i>biót</i> ('naked, bare')	shell hazelnuts
Intensive value		
Intensive value proper		
<i>sbianzàr</i>	<i>bianch</i> ('white')	whiten, spray
<i>sbronzinàr</i>	<i>bronzin</i> ('cowbell')	peal of cowbells
<i>sbusàr</i>	<i>bus</i> ('hole')	make a hole
<i>spizzegàr</i>	onomat.	itch
<i>stòrzer</i>	Lat. EX-TORQUERE	bend, twist
<i>svoidàr</i>	<i>vòid</i> ('empty')	empty
Onomatopoeic <i>s-</i>		
<i>sbaierà</i>	onomat.	bark
<i>sbeghelàr</i>	onomat.	bleat (literally and metaphorically)
<i>sghnaolàr</i>	onomat.	meow
<i>sgrenghenàr</i>	onomat.	plunk, play an instrument badly

Intensive value:

- **Intensive value proper** (also present in Italian, but less widespread than in CT).²⁵
- **Animal sounds and other onomatopoeic expressions:** CT also uses the prefix *s-* to indicate some (especially iterated) animal sounds. This value is closely connected to the intensive, and can get a pejorative meaning. Note that this type of value is rarely found in other Romance languages.

7.5 ‘Verb with Locative’ Constructions

A number of verbs are combined with a locative element (which corresponds to an adverb or preposition) to form a fixed “verb + locative” construction (‘VL’). These express a meaning that differs lexically or aspectually from the verb alone:

- (6) *El Paolo el va fōra tuti i di.*
 the Paolo he.CL goes out all the days
 ‘Paolo goes out everyday.’
- (7) *Méti zó quel vaso.*
 Put down that vase
 ‘Put that vase down!’
- (8) *Tuti i di digo su la coróna.*
 all the days I.say up the rosary
 ‘I recite the rosary every day.’

This type of construction, although very rare in the written register of all Romance languages, is used in many spoken varieties, especially in Italy and France.²⁶ It is particularly widespread in Northern Italian dialects and Rhaetoromance (see Rohlfs 1969: § 918, Gsell 1982, Vicario 1997, Cini 2008; for CT

25 Again, one verb in this list is a good example of the contrast between CT and Italian: the CT verb *sbusàr* (‘make a hole’) is also present in Italian (*sbucare*), albeit with a different, separative meaning (‘come out of a hole’). This difference also illustrates the predominance of the intensive value over the privative/separative in CT *s-*.

26 The construction ‘verb + locative’ originates in Latin, where it had a limited use (see below). Studies of the ‘verb+locative’ construction in standard languages are now numerous; see Cordin (2011) and literature cited therein.

and other dialects spoken in Trentino especially Cordin 2008, 2011, Adami 2013, Bidese, Casalicchio & Cordin 2016). Given this distribution, the origin and development of these constructions in Northern Italy has traditionally been attributed to “German influence”, because of their abundance in German. However, as discussed in this chapter, contact with German can only be held responsible for the presence of specific calques, or for the reinforcement of a tendency towards grammaticalisation already internal to the Romance construction (on this point, see e.g. Bidese, Casalicchio & Cordin 2016).

7.5.1 *General Properties of the VL Construction*

In CT, various classes of verbs can be used in the VL construction. While standard languages allow it with verbs that themselves express a locative meaning (mainly verbs of state (9) or of movement (10)), in CT we also find non-locative intransitive (11) and transitive verbs (12), where a locative meaning is added by the locative element.²⁷ Note that in some cases a transitive verb becomes intransitive (13):

- (9) *Són stada fōra tut el di.*
 I.am been out all the day
 ‘I have been out all day.’

- (10) *La Maria la è nada fōra con el can.*
 The Maria she.CL is gone out with the dog
 ‘Maria went/has gone out with the dog.’

- (11) *Séntete zó!*
 Sit=you.REFL.CL down
 ‘Sit down!’

- (12) *Tàiet zó ti la lugànega?*
 cut=you.CL down you the salami
 ‘Could you cut the salami into pieces?’

27 Note that this phenomenon, absent in the standard languages, is noteworthy because Romance languages are generally held to be “verb-framed” (i.e. the locative meaning is expressed by the verb itself), cf. Talmy (1985, 1991): the VL constructions appears as an exception to this picture, because it is more typical of “satellite-framed” languages like German or English.

- (13) a. *El Paolo el varda fòra mal ancòi.*
 the Paolo he.CL watches out badly today
 'Paolo looks ill today.'
- b. *La Teresa la ghe dis sèmpre su al Pietro.*
 the Teresa she.CL him.DAT.CL says always up to-the Pietro
 'Teresa always complains to Pietro.'

The most frequent locative elements used in the CT VLs are *(d)énter/déntro* ('inside'), *fòra* ('outside'), *zó* ('down'), *su* ('up'), *drio* ('behind'), *sóra* ('above'), *sót* ('below'), *via* ('away'), *denanzi/davanti* ('in front'). In CT, as generally in Romance, the verb and the locative element form a syntactic and prosodic unit with the rigid order "verb—locative". The only elements that can intervene between them are clitics (cf. examples (11)–(12)) and a class of "light" adverbs, such as *sèmpre* ('always'), *za* ('already'), *pu* ('(any)more') or *miga*, e.g. (13b).

From a syntactic point of view, the verb and the locative element form a constituent, as the following minimal pair shows: in the *a.* examples a VL is used, in the *b.* examples the locative element is a "true" preposition:

- (14) a. *La Teresa [la dis su] [le to poesìe].*
 the Teresa she.CL says up the your poems
 'Teresa is reciting your poems.'
- b. *La Teresa [la dis] qualcòsa [sule to poesìe].*
 the Teresa she.CL says something on-the your poems
 'Teresa is saying something about your poems.'
- (15) a. *El Paolo [el tira su] [i so fiòi] da sól.*
 the Paolo he.CL throws up the his children from alone
 'Paolo is raising his children alone.'
- b. *El Paolo [el tira] [sui so fiòi].*
 the Paolo he.CL throws up=the his children
 'Paolo throws something at his children.'

There are also phonological clues to the analysis of a verb and a locative element as a unit: in this construction, no sandhi ever occurs between a preposition and the item that follows it. When the locative is used as a preposition, however, sandhi may occur:

- (16) a. *L'a més su el café.*
 he.CL-has put up the coffee
 'He put the coffee on.'
- b. *El l'a més sul fornèl.*
 he.CL him.CL-has put on-the stove
 'He put it on the stove.'

Another general property of VL in Romance is that it can never be nominalised, unlike simple verbs:

- (17) a. *netàr su* → **na netada su*
 clean up a cleaning up
- b. *rìder drio* → **na risada*
 laugh behind ('laugh behind someone's back') a laughter
drio
 behind

7.5.2 *The Grammaticalisation Path of the 'Verb + Locative' Construction*

In CT, the VL has undergone a process of grammaticalisation: the different expressions formed with a VL cover a continuum from purely locative to metaphorical to aspectual.

Many expressions are simply locative; this is especially the case for verbs of state and movement:

- (18) *nar su / zó / fôra / déntro / via / avanti / ndrio*
 go up down out inside away forward backwards
- (19) *méter su / zó / fôra / déntro / via / avanti / ndrio*
 put up down out inside away forward backwards

This construction can be either purely locative or metaphorically locative. The metaphorical locative can indicate direction or location (20), separation (21) or inclusion/exclusion (22):

VL construction	Literal translation	Meaning
(20) <i>tiràr su</i> <i>star su</i> <i>dir drio</i>	pull up stay up say behind	raise the children keep awake until late speak ill of someone
(21) <i>farse fôra</i> <i>pèrderse via</i>	make oneself out lose oneself away	achieve personal development get distracted while others are talking
(22) <i>tòrse/ciamarse fôra</i> <i>méterse déntro</i>	pull/call oneself out put oneself inside	to avoid taking part in a discussion intrude

A further function of the VL is the simple doubling of the locative meaning already present in the verb. In most cases, it is also possible to use the simple verb without the locative element:

VL construction	Literal translation	Meaning
(23) <i>sentarse zó</i> <i>montàr su</i> <i>cascàr zó</i> <i>spudàr fôra</i>	sit oneself down get.on up fall down spit out	sit down get on fall down spit out

Finally, the VL can have an aspectual, mainly telic, meaning. Two stages in the grammaticalisation process are revealed here: in the first, the locative element keeps some directional meaning, but has already developed an aspectual reading (24). In the next step, the locative just indicates aspect without any additional locative value; the choice of the locative element to be coupled with the verb is rather arbitrary in such expressions, and cannot be predicted. The most frequent aspect types are completive (25a), approximative (25b), and intensive/iterative (25c). Exceptions are found with *via* ('away') and *drio*, the latter only in combination with *èsser* (lit. 'be behind'), which are linked to specific aspectual meanings: ingressive (*via*, see examples in (26)) and progressive (*èsser drio*; see § 8.2.2):

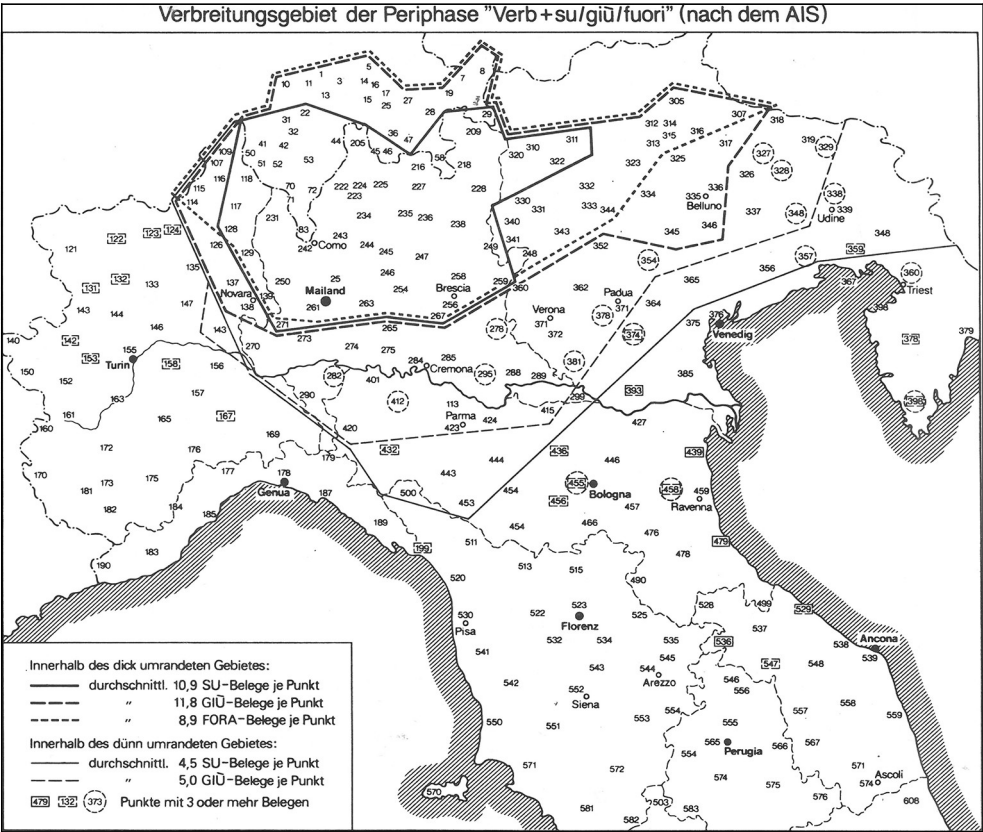
	VL construction	Literal translation	Meaning
(24)	<i>taiàr zó</i> <i>lavàr zó</i> <i>netàr su</i> <i>cavàr fòra</i>	cut down wash down clean up take out	cut into pieces, cut down wash the dishes wipe up, clean up undress
(25)	a. <i>seràr su</i> <i>magnàr fòra</i> <i>copàr zó</i> b. <i>far su</i> <i>conciàr su</i> c. <i>dìr su</i> <i>basarse su</i>	lock up eat out kill down make up put.in.a.bad.state up say up kiss oneself up	lock up use up, spend completely kill build, rebuild dress badly, make a mess recite keep kissing
(26)	<i>scominziàr via</i> <i>enviàr via</i>	start away send away	start send

7.5.3 *Differences from the German(ic) Construction, and the Issue of the German Origin*

The heading of this subsection refers to the traditional hypothesis of the German origin of Northern Italian VLs (first proposed by Jaberg 1939).²⁸ This hypothesis is based on two observations: first, the VL is particularly widespread in the areas that have had closer contact with German (primarily Swiss Romansh and Ladin)—however, the highest rates are in Lombard dialects (as well as in Noneso and Solandro, data from the AIS discussed in Gsell 1982), which throws into question this hypothesis, as the map below, based on the AIS,²⁹ shows:

28 See Jaberg (1939); Rohlfs (1969: § 918); Heller (1979); Plangg (1980); Gsell (1982); Mair (1984); Kramer (1987).

29 The AIS maps containing a VL with *su*, *giù*, *fuori* are: 171, 220, 532, 543–544, 565, 660–664, 669, 923, 949, 1001, 1024, 1026, 1085, 1179, 1188, 1193, 1238, 1244, 1257, 1268, 1326, 1346, 1355, 1356, 1390, 1395, 1444, 1546, 1608, 1611, 1617, 1681.



MAP 8 The distribution of the VL construction (Gsell 1982)

The second observation is that certain VLs in Northern Italian dialects find a perfect match in a German VL:

CT expression	German expression	Literal translation	Meaning
(27) a. <i>dir su</i>	<i>auf-sagen</i>	say up	recite
b. <i>cavàr fòra</i>	<i>aus-ziehen</i>	pull away	undress
c. <i>lavàr zó</i>	<i>ab-waschen</i>	wash down	wash the dishes
d. <i>sentarse zó</i>	<i>sich nieder-setzen</i>	sit down	sit down
	(Southern German)		
e. <i>tiràr su</i>	<i>auf-ziehen</i>	pull up	raise (a child)
f. <i>vardàr fòra</i>	<i>aus-sehen</i>	watch out	resemble, look (like)

Nevertheless, various points run counter to the hypothesis of the German origin of VLs.

Firstly, alongside the matching expressions illustrated in (27), there are other cases in which: i) there is no correspondent VL in German (28); ii) the VL in CT and in German uses different (sometimes even opposite) locative elements (29); iii) the literal German correspondent means something else, or even the opposite (as in the case of *seràr su*, (30)).

CT expression	Literal translation	German expression	Literal translation	Meaning
(28) a. <i>èsser drio</i>	be behind	–		be –ing (progressive form, see § 8.2.2)
b. <i>farse fòra</i>	make oneself out	–		change one's attitude in a positive way, improve one's character
(29) a. <i>scominziàr via</i>	start away	<i>an-fangen</i>	catch on	start something
b. <i>béver su</i>	drink up	<i>aus-trinken</i>	drink out	drink up
c. <i>tajàr zó</i>	cut down	<i>auf-schneiden</i>	cut up	slice
(30) a. <i>trarse fòra</i>	pull oneself out	<i>sich aus-ziehen</i>	pull oneself out	CT: 'avoid participating in a discussion, stay neutral' German: 'undress'
b. <i>scrìver zó</i>	write down	<i>ab-schreiben</i> vs. <i>aufschreiben</i>	write down write up	CT: write down German: copy write down
c. <i>seràr su</i>	lock up	<i>aufsperrèn</i>	lock up	CT: lock securely German: unlock

Another particularly crucial point that contradicts the traditional hypothesis is the fact that VLs are already attested in Early Latin texts, and then also occur in Late Latin—Classical Latin, on the other hand, absolutely prefers prefixation:

(31) *Abii foras.*
out=I.went outside

(Plautus; cited in Mair 1984)

- (32) *ire via(m), ire su(r)su(m)* (Late Latin)
 go way go up

VLS are then also found in Old Italo-romance texts (as well as in Old French):

- (33) *Saltòe la fiamma fuori.* (*Leggenda Aurea*, cited in Bidese,
 jumped the flame out Casalicchio & Cordin 2016: 126)
 'The flame jumped out.'

Finally, German and CT VLS do not share the same syntactic properties: unlike in CT, in German the verb and the locative particle can be interrupted by one or more constituents. In addition, the locative element can precede the verb when the latter is in final position, or when the former is topicalised.³⁰ Moreover, VLS in German can be nominalized (cf. (36) with (17)):

- (34) *Ich rufe [morgen] [die Mutter] [mit meinem Telefon] [aus*
 I call tomorrow the mother with my phone from
Deutschland] an.
 Germany on
 'Tomorrow I'll call my mother up on my phone from Germany.'

- (35) *ZU hat sie gemacht.*
 to has she done
 'She closed!'

- (36) a. *abwaschen* → *der Abwasch*
 down=wash the down=wash ('washing-up')
 b. *einkaufen* → *der Einkäufer*
 in=buy the in=buyer ('buyer')

³⁰ Note that this difference between CT and German is only partly related to the OV character of the latter. As shown in Bidese, Casalicchio & Cordin (2016), in Old Italo-romance it was also possible for the locative element to precede the verb—and Old Italian was a VO language like CT (examples cited from Bidese, Casalicchio & Cordin 2016: 127):

(i) *Nichodemo et Iosep à cò l corpo tolù.* (*P. e R. udinese*, v. 202)
 Nichodemus and Joseph have down the body taken
 'Nichodemus and Joseph took down the body.'

We can thus conclude that the CT VL is not a syntactic borrowing from German. VLs existed in spoken Latin and then in Old Italian, and the grammaticalisation path of the locative element towards an aspectual marker is a relatively common evolution that does not necessarily imply external influence. On the other hand, influence from German is present at two levels: first, contact with a language that uses VLs very extensively has led CT speakers to create expressions that are calques from German. This does not mean, however, that the construction itself was borrowed: the fact that CT and German both have this construction naturally facilitated the adoption into CT of single expressions. A possible example of a calque is *vardàr fòra* (German *aussehen*, lit. “watch out”, ‘look (like), resemble’). Second, contact with German may have led to an acceleration of the grammaticalisation path of VLs in CT: while the aspectual value of VLs in Italian appears only to be increasing now,³¹ in CT it developed much earlier, and much more extensively.

31 According to Iacobini & Masini (2007), this is particularly the case of Italian VLs formed with the locative *via* (like *grattar via* ‘scrape away’, *lavar via* ‘wash (eliminating all the dirt)’). In Central Italy expressions like *metter su* (lit. “put up”, ‘give rise to an organisation or an event’) are also heard, which clearly have an aspectual value.

Annex to Ch. 7: Tables of Verb Forms³²

(cf. AIS, Rohlfs 1968, Groff 1955, Aneggi 1984, Zörner 1989, Fox 1996, ALD-II)

A. Regular verbs—I conjugation (-àr)

1. Synthetic forms

a. Present indicative

	Forms used in Trento	Alternative forms
I sing	<i>canto</i>	<i>canti</i> (R)
you sing	<i>te canti</i>	<i>cantes</i> (RCT)
...	<i>el/la canta</i>	
	<i>cantén</i>	<i>cantàn</i>
	<i>canté</i>	<i>cantào</i> (RCT), <i>cantà</i> (Civ., VV)
	<i>i/le canta</i>	

b. Imperfect past indicative

I sang	<i>cantavo</i>	<i>cantavi</i> (R), <i>cantava</i> (C)
...	<i>te cantavi</i>	<i>cantévi</i> (T), <i>cantaves</i> (RCT)
	<i>el/la cantava</i>	<i>cantéva</i> (T)
	<i>cantaven</i>	
	<i>cantéve</i>	<i>cantàvio</i> (C), <i>cantàv(e)o</i> (R)
	<i>i/le cantava</i>	<i>cantéva</i> (T)

c. Future indicative

I will sing	<i>canterò</i>	<i>canterài</i> (RCT)
...	<i>te canterài</i>	<i>canteràs</i> (RCT)
	<i>el/la canterà</i>	
	<i>canterén</i>	
	<i>canteré</i>	<i>canteréo</i> (RCT)
	<i>i/le canterà</i>	

32 In the conjugation tables we give first the forms used in the city of Trento. If there are variant forms in other parts of the CT area, we report them on the right, indicating in which area they are used: C = Cembra; Civ. = Civezzano; CT = the form is used in the whole CT area in specific contexts; L = Levico; R = Rotaliana; RCT = rural CT; T = Trento (a variant of the first form); UCT = urban CT except for Trento; VV = Vigolo Vattaro. If no area is indicated, the form is used in scattered areas of the CT region.

d. Present subjunctive

... that I sing	... <i>che canta</i>	<i>càntia</i> (C)
...	... <i>che te canti</i>	
	... <i>che el/la canta</i>	<i>càntia</i> (C)
	... <i>che canténte</i>	<i>cantante</i> (Civ., VV)
	... <i>che cantéghe</i>	<i>cantaghe</i>
	... <i>che i/le canta</i>	<i>càntia</i> (C)

e. Imperfect subjunctive

... that I sang	... <i>che cantassa</i>	<i>cantés(sa)</i>
...	... <i>che te cantassi</i>	<i>cantéssi</i> (UCT), <i>cantasti</i> (RCT)
	... <i>che el/la cantassa</i>	<i>cantés(sa)</i>
	... <i>che cantéssen</i>	<i>cantassen</i> (UCT, RCT)
	... <i>che cantésse</i>	<i>cantàsse(o)</i> (R), <i>cantàssio</i> (C)
	... <i>che i/le cantéssa</i>	<i>cantas(sa)</i>

f. Present conditional

I would sing	<i>cantaria</i>	<i>canteria</i> (RCT)
...	<i>te cantaréssi</i>	<i>canteréssi</i> , <i>cantarésti</i> (RCT)
	<i>el/la cantaria</i>	<i>canteria</i> (RCT)
	<i>cantaréssen</i>	<i>canteréssen</i> (RCT)
	<i>cantarésse</i>	<i>canterésse</i> , <i>canteréssio</i> (C)
	<i>i/le cantaria</i>	<i>canteria</i> (RCT)

g. Imperative

Sing! (sg.)	<i>canta</i>	
Sing! (pl.)	<i>canté</i>	<i>cantà</i>

h. Non-finite forms

Infinitive	<i>cantàr</i>
Past Participle	<i>cantà</i> , <i>cantada</i> , <i>cantadi</i> , <i>cantade</i>
Gerund	<i>cantàn</i> (<i>cantando</i>)

2. Analytic forms

a. Perfect indicative

I have sung	<i>ò cantà</i>
	<i>t'ai cantà</i>
...	

b. Pluperfect indicative

I had sung *avéva/avévo cantà*
...

c. Surcomposé past

I had had sung *ò bu cantà*
...

d. Future perfect indicative

I will have sung *averò/averài cantà*
...

e. Perfect subjunctive

... that I have sung *... che àbia cantà*
...

f. Pluperfect subjunctive

... that I had sung *... che avéssa/avés cantà*
...

g. Past conditional

I would have sung *averìa cantà*
...

h. Non-finite forms

Past infinitive *avér cantà*
Past gerund *(avèndo cantà)*

i. Passive (overview)

I am sung *vègno cantà*
I was sung *vegnìvo cantà*
I will be sung *vegnirò cantà*
I have been sung *són sta cantà*
I had been sung *èro sta cantà*
I will have been sung *sarò cantà*
etc.

B. Regular Verbs—II declination (-er/ér)

1. Synthetic forms

a. Present indicative

I sell	<i>vèndo</i>	<i>vèndi</i> (R)
...	<i>te vèndi</i>	<i>vèndes</i> (RCT)
	<i>el/la vènde</i>	
	<i>vendén</i>	
	<i>vendé</i>	<i>vendéo</i> (RCT)
	<i>i/le vènde</i>	

b. Imperfect past indicative

I sold	<i>vendévo</i>	<i>vendévi</i> (R), <i>vendéva</i> (C)
...	<i>te vendévi</i>	<i>vendéves</i> (RCT)
	<i>el/la vendéva</i>	
	<i>vendéven</i>	
	<i>vendéve</i>	<i>vendév(e)o</i> (RCT)
	<i>i/le vendéva</i>	

c. Future indicative

I will sell	<i>venderò</i>	<i>venderài</i> (RCT)
...	<i>te venderài</i>	<i>venderàs</i> (RCT)
	<i>el/la venderà</i>	
	<i>venderén</i>	
	<i>venderé</i>	<i>venderéo</i> (RCT)
	<i>i/le venderà</i>	

d. Present subjunctive

... that I sell	... <i>che vènda</i>	<i>vèndia</i> (RCT)
...	... <i>che te vèndi</i>	
	... <i>che el/la vènda</i>	<i>vèndia</i> (RCT)
	... <i>che vendénte</i>	
	... <i>che vendéghe</i>	
	... <i>che i/le vènda</i>	<i>vèndia</i> (RCT)

e. Imperfect subjunctive

... that I sold	... <i>che vendéssa</i>	<i>vendés</i> (RCT)
...	... <i>che te vendéssi</i>	<i>vendésti</i> (RCT)
	... <i>che el/la vendéssa</i>	<i>vendés</i> (RCT)

... *che vendéssen*
 ... *che vendésse* *vendéss(e)o* (RCT)
 ... *che i/le vendéssa*

f. Present conditional

I would sell *venderà*
 ... *te venderéssi* *venderésti* (RCT)
 el/la venderia
 venderéssen
 venderésse *venderéssio* (RCT)
 i/le venderà

g. Imperative

sell! (sg.) *Vèndi*
 sell! (pl.) *Vendé*

h. Non-finite forms

Infinitive *vènder*
 Past Participle *vendù, venduda, vendudi, vendude*
 Gerund *vendèndo*

2. *Analytic forms*

a. Perfect indicative

I have sold *ò vendù*
 t'ai vendù
 ...

b. Pluperfect indicative

I had sold *avéva/avévo vendù*
 ...

c. Surcomposé past

I had had sold *ò bu vendù*
 ...

d. Future perfect indicative

I will have sold *averò/averà vendù*
 ...

e. Perfect subjunctive

... that I have sold ... *che àbia vendù*
...

f. Pluperfect subjunctive

... that I had sold ... *che avéssa/avés vendù*
...

g. Past conditional

I would have sold *averìa vendù*
...

h. Non-finite forms

Past infinitive *avér vendù*
Past gerund *avèndo vendù*

C. Regular Verbs—III declination (-ir)

1. Synthetic forms

a. Present indicative

I sleep/I heal	<i>dòrmo</i>	<i>guarisso</i>	<i>dòrmi, guarissi (R)</i>
...	<i>te dòrmi</i>	<i>te guarissi</i>	<i>dòrmes, guarisses (RCT)</i>
	<i>el/la dòrme</i>	<i>el/la guarìs</i>	
	<i>dormìn</i>	<i>guarìn</i>	
	<i>dormì</i>	<i>guarì</i>	<i>dormìo, guarìo (RCT)</i>
	<i>i/le dòrme</i>	<i>i/le guarìs</i>	

b. Imperfect past indicative

I slept	<i>dormìvo</i>	<i>dormìvi (R), dormìva (C)</i>
...	<i>te dormìvi</i>	<i>dormìves (RCT)</i>
	<i>el/la dormìva</i>	
	<i>dormìven</i>	
	<i>dormìve</i>	<i>dormìveo (RCT)</i>
	<i>i/le dormìva</i>	

c. Future indicative

I will sleep	<i>dormirò</i>	<i>dormirài</i> (RCT)
...	<i>te dormirài</i>	<i>dormiràs</i> (RCT)
	<i>el/la dormirà</i>	
	<i>dormirén</i>	
	<i>dormiré</i>	<i>dormiréo</i> (RCT)
	<i>i/le dormirà</i>	

d. Present subjunctive

... that I sleep	... <i>che dòrma</i>	<i>guarissa</i>	<i>dòrmia, guarissia</i> (RCT)
...	... <i>che te dòrmi</i>	<i>te guarissi</i>	
	... <i>che el/la dòrma</i>	<i>el/la guarissa</i>	<i>dòrmia, guarissia</i> (RCT)
	... <i>che dorminte</i>	<i>guarinte</i>	
	... <i>che dormighe</i>	<i>guarighe</i>	
	... <i>che i/le dòrma</i>	<i>i/le guarissa</i>	<i>dòrmia, guarissia</i> (RCT)

e. Imperfect subjunctive

... that I slept	... <i>che dormissa</i>	<i>dormìs</i> (RCT)
...	... <i>che te dormissi</i>	<i>dormisti</i> (RCT)
	... <i>che el/la dormissa</i>	<i>dormìs</i> (RCT)
	... <i>che dormissen</i>	
	... <i>che dormisse</i>	<i>dormisseo</i> (RCT)
	... <i>che i/le dormissa</i>	<i>dormìs</i> (RCT)

f. Present conditional

I would sleep	<i>dormirìa</i>	
...	<i>te dormirés</i>	
	<i>el/la dormirìa</i>	
	<i>dormiréssen</i>	
	<i>dormirésse</i>	<i>dormiréssio</i>
	<i>i/le dormirìa</i>	

g. Imperative

sleep! (sg.)	<i>dòrmi!</i>
sleep! (pl.)	<i>dormì!</i>

h. Non-finite forms

Infinitive	<i>dormìr</i>
Past Participle	<i>dormì, dormida, dormidi, dormide</i>
Gerund	<i>dormèndo</i>

2. *Analytic forms*

a. Perfect indicative

I have slept	<i>ò dormì</i>
	<i>t'ai dormì</i>
	...

b. Pluperfect indicative

I had slept	<i>avéva/avévo dormì</i>
	...

c. Surcomposé past

I had had slept	<i>ò bu dormì</i>
	...

d. Future perfect indicative

I will have slept	<i>averò/averài dormì</i>
	...

e. Perfect subjunctive

... that I have slept	<i>... che àbia dormì</i>
	...

f. Pluperfect subjunctive

... that I had slept	<i>... che avéssa/avés dormì</i>
	...

g. Past conditional

I would have slept	<i>averìa dormì</i>
	...

h. Non-finite forms

Past infinitive	<i>avér dormì</i>
Past gerund	<i>avèndo dormì</i>

D. èsser ('be')

1. Synthetic forms

a. Present indicative

I am	<i>són</i>	
...	<i>te séi</i>	<i>sés</i> (RCT)
	<i>l'/l(a) è</i>	<i>èi</i>
	<i>sén</i>	
	<i>sé</i>	<i>séo</i> (RCT)
	<i>i/l(e) è</i>	

b. Imperfect past indicative

I was	<i>èro</i>	<i>èra</i> (C), <i>èri</i> (R)
...	<i>t'èri</i>	<i>ères</i> (RCT)
	<i>l'/la èra</i>	
	<i>èren</i>	
	<i>ère</i>	<i>èr(e)o</i> (RCT)
	<i>i/le èra</i>	

c. Future indicative

I will be	<i>sarò</i>	<i>sarài</i> (RCT)
...	<i>te sarài</i>	<i>saràs</i> (RCT)
	<i>el/la sarà</i>	
	<i>sarén</i>	
	<i>saré</i>	<i>saréo</i> (RCT)
	<i>i/le sarà</i>	

d. Present subjunctive

... that I be	<i>... che sia</i>
...	<i>... che te sibi</i>
	<i>... che el/la sia</i>
	<i>... che sénte</i>
	<i>... che séghe</i>
	<i>... che i/le sia</i>

e. Imperfect subjunctive

... that I was	<i>... che fussa</i>	<i>fus</i> (RCT)
...	<i>... che te fussi</i>	<i>fusti</i> (RCT)
	<i>... che el/la fussa</i>	<i>fus</i> (RCT)

... <i>che fussen</i>	
... <i>che fusse</i>	<i>fùsio</i> (RCT)
... <i>che i/le fussa</i>	<i>fus</i> (RCT)

f. Present conditional

I would be	<i>sarìa</i>	
...	<i>te saréssi</i>	<i>sarésti</i> (RCT)
	<i>el/la sarìa</i>	
	<i>sarèssen</i>	
	<i>sarésse</i>	<i>saréssio</i> (RCT)
	<i>i/le sarìa</i>	

g. Imperative

Be! (sg.)	<i>te sibi</i>
Be! (pl.)	<i>séghe</i>

h. Non-finite forms

Infinitive	<i>èsser</i>
Past Participle	<i>sta, stada, stadi, stade</i>
Gerund	<i>essèndo</i>

E. *avér* ('have')1. *Synthetic forms*

a. Present indicative

I have	<i>ò</i>	<i>ai</i> (RCT)
...	<i>t'ai</i>	<i>as</i> (RCT)
	<i>l'/la a</i>	
	<i>avén</i>	
	<i>avé</i>	<i>avéo</i> (RCT)
	<i>i/le a</i>	

b. Imperfect past indicative

I had	<i>avéno</i>	<i>avéna</i> (C), <i>avévi</i> (R)
...	<i>t'avévi</i>	<i>avéves</i> (RCT)
	<i>l'/la avéna</i>	
	<i>avéven</i>	
	<i>avéve</i>	<i>avévio</i> (RCT)
	<i>i/le avéna</i>	

c. Future indicative

I will have	<i>averò</i>	<i>averài</i> (RCT)
...	<i>te averài</i>	<i>averàs</i> (RCT)
	<i>el/la averà</i>	
	<i>averén</i>	
	<i>averé</i>	<i>averéo</i> (RCT)
	<i>i/le averà</i>	

d. Present subjunctive

... that I have	... <i>che àbia</i>
...	... <i>che te abi</i>
	... <i>che el/la àbia</i>
	... <i>che avénte</i>
	... <i>che avéghe</i>
	... <i>che i/le àbia</i>

e. Imperfect subjunctive

... that I was	... <i>che avéssa</i>	<i>avés</i> (R)
...	... <i>che te avéssi</i>	<i>avésti</i> (RCT)
	... <i>che el/la avéssa</i>	<i>avés</i>
	... <i>che avéssen</i>	
	... <i>che avésse</i>	<i>avéssio</i> (RCT)
	... <i>che i/le avéssa</i>	<i>avés</i>

f. Present conditional

I would have	<i>averìa</i>	
...	<i>te averéssi</i>	<i>averésti</i> (RCT)
	<i>el/la averìa</i>	
	<i>averéssen</i>	
	<i>averésse</i>	<i>averéssio</i> (RCT)
	<i>i/le averìa</i>	

g. Imperative

NB: the present subjunctive forms are used for the imperative of *avér*

Have! (sg.)	<i>àbi</i>
Have! (pl.)	<i>avéghe</i>

h. Non-finite forms

Infinitive	<i>avér</i>	
Past Participle	<i>avù, avuda, -i, -e</i>	<i>bu, buda, -i, -e; vü</i> (C)
Gerund	<i>avèndo</i>	

F. Irregular verbs:**1. Nar ('go')****a. Present indicative**

I go	<i>vago</i>	<i>vón</i> (R)
...	<i>te vai</i>	<i>vas</i> (RCT)
	<i>el/la va</i>	
	<i>nén</i>	
	<i>né</i>	<i>néo</i> (RCT)
	<i>i/le va</i>	

b. Imperfect past indicative

I went	<i>névo</i>	<i>névi</i> (R), <i>néva</i> (C)
...	<i>te névi</i>	<i>néves</i> (RCT)
	<i>el/la néva</i>	
	<i>néven</i>	
	<i>néve</i>	<i>néveo</i> (RCT)
	<i>i/le néva</i>	

c. Future indicative

I will go	<i>narò</i>	<i>narài</i> (RCT)
...	<i>te narài</i>	<i>naràs</i> (RCT)
	<i>el/la narà</i>	
	<i>narén</i>	
	<i>naré</i>	<i>naréo</i> (RCT)
	<i>i/le narà</i>	

d. Present subjunctive

... that I go	... <i>che vaga</i>	<i>vaghia</i> (RCT)
...	... <i>che te vaghi</i>	
	... <i>che el/la vaga</i>	<i>vaghia</i> (RCT)
	... <i>che nénte</i>	
	... <i>che néghe</i>	
	... <i>che i/le vaga</i>	<i>vaghia</i> (RCT)

e. Imperfect subjunctive

... that I went	... <i>che néssa</i>	<i>nés</i> (RCT)
...	... <i>che te néssi</i>	<i>nésti</i> (RCT)
	... <i>che el/la néssa</i>	<i>nés</i> (RCT)

... <i>che néssen</i>	
... <i>che nésse</i>	<i>néssio</i> (RCT)
... <i>che i/le néssa</i>	<i>nés</i> (RCT)

f. Present conditional

I would go	<i>narìa</i>	
...	<i>te naréssi</i>	<i>narésti</i> (RCT)
	<i>el/la naria</i>	
	<i>naréssen</i>	
	<i>narésse</i>	<i>naresséo</i> (RCT)
	<i>i/le naria</i>	

g. Imperative

go! (sg.)	<i>va!</i>
go! (pl.)	<i>né!</i>

h. Non-finite forms

Infinitive	<i>nar</i>
Past Participle	<i>na, nada, nadi, nade</i>
Gerund	<i>(andando)</i>

2. Dir ('say')

a. Present indicative

I say	<i>digo</i>	
...	<i>te disi</i>	<i>dis</i> (RCT)
	<i>el/la dis</i>	
	<i>disén</i>	
	<i>disé</i>	<i>diséo</i> (RCT)
	<i>i/le dis</i>	

b. Imperfect past indicative

I said	<i>disévo</i>	<i>disévi</i> (R), <i>diséva</i> (C)
...		

c. Future indicative

I will say	<i>dirò</i>	<i>dirài</i> (RCT)
...		

d. Present subjunctive

... that I say	... <i>che diga</i>	<i>dighia</i> (RCT)
...	... <i>che te dighi</i>	
	... <i>che el/la diga</i>	<i>dighia</i> (RCT)
	... <i>che disénte</i>	
	... <i>che diséghe</i>	
	... <i>che i/le diga</i>	

e. Imperfect subjunctive

... that I said	... <i>che diséssa</i>	<i>disés</i> (R)
...		

f. Present conditional

I would say	<i>diria</i>	
...		

g. Imperative

say! (sg.)	<i>di!</i>	
say! (pl.)	<i>disé!</i>	

h. Non-finite forms

Infinitive	<i>dir</i>	
Past Participle	<i>dit, dita, diti, dite</i>	
Gerund	<i>(digànt, diséndo)</i>	

3. Dar ('give')

a. Present indicative

I give	<i>dago</i>	<i>dón</i> (R)
...	<i>te dai</i>	<i>das</i> (RCT)
	<i>el/la da</i>	
	<i>dén</i>	
	<i>dé</i>	<i>déo</i> (RCT)
	<i>i/le da</i>	

b. Imperfect past indicative

I gave	<i>davo</i>	<i>davi</i> (R), <i>dava</i> (C)
...		

c. Future indicative

I will give *darò* *darài* (RCT)

...

d. Present subjunctive

... that I give ... *che daga* *daghia* (RCT)

... ... *che te daghi*

... *che el/la daga* *daghia* (RCT)

... *che dénte*

... *che déghe*

... *che i/le daga* *daghia* (RCT)

e. Imperfect subjunctive

... that I gave ... *che déssa* *dés* (R)

...

f. Present conditional

I would give *daria*

...

g. Imperative

give! (sg.) *da!*

give! (pl.) *dé!*

h. Non-finite forms

Infinitive *dar*

Past Participle *da, data, dati, date*

Gerund (*dando*)

4. Far ('do')

a. Present indicative

I do *fago* *fón* (R)

... *te fai* *fas* (RCT)

el/la fa

fén

fé

féo (RCT)

i/le fa

b. Imperfect past indicative

I did	<i>févo</i>	<i>févi</i> (R), <i>féva</i> (C)
...		

c. Future indicative

I will do	<i>farò</i>	<i>farài</i> (RCT)
...		

d. Present subjunctive

... that I do	... <i>che faga</i>	<i>faghia</i> (RCT)
...	... <i>che te faghi</i>	
	... <i>che el/la faga</i>	<i>faghia</i> (RCT)
	... <i>che fènte</i>	
	... <i>che féghe</i>	
	... <i>che i/le faga</i>	<i>faghia</i> (RCT)

e. Imperfect subjunctive

... that I did	... <i>che fèssa</i>	<i>fés</i> (R)
...		

f. Present conditional

I would do	<i>faria</i>	
...		

g. Imperative

do! (sg.)	<i>fa!</i>	
do! (pl.)	<i>fé!</i>	

h. Non-finite forms

Infinitive	<i>far</i>	
Past Participle	<i>fa, fata, fati, fate</i>	
Gerund	<i>(fasèndo)</i>	

5. Star ('stay')

a. Present indicative

I stay	<i>stago</i>	<i>stón</i> (R)
...	<i>te stai</i>	<i>stas</i> (RCT)
	<i>el/la sta</i>	
	<i>stén</i>	

	<i>sté</i> <i>i/le sta</i>	<i>stéo</i> (RCT)
b. Imperfect past indicative		
I stood	<i>stévo, stavo</i>	<i>stavi</i> (R), <i>stava</i> (C)
	...	
c. Future indicative		
I will stay	<i>starò</i>	<i>starài</i> (RCT)
	...	
d. Present subjunctive		
... that I stay	... <i>che staga</i>	<i>staghia</i> (RCT)
...	... <i>che te staghi</i>	
	... <i>che el/la staga</i>	<i>staghia</i> (RCT)
	... <i>che stégghen</i>	<i>sténte</i>
	... <i>che stéghe</i>	
	... <i>che i/le staga</i>	<i>staghia</i>
e. Imperfect subjunctive		
... that I stood	... <i>che stéssa</i>	<i>stés</i> (R)
	...	
f. Present conditional		
I would stay	<i>starìa</i>	
	...	
g. Imperative		
stay! (sg.)	<i>sta!</i>	
stay! (pl.)	<i>sté!</i>	
h. Non-finite forms		
Infinitive	<i>star</i>	
Past Participle	<i>sta, stada, stadi, stade</i>	
Gerund	<i>(stando)</i>	

6. Tòr ('take')

a. Present indicative

I take	<i>tògo</i>	
...	<i>te tòl</i>	<i>tös</i> (C), <i>tòles</i> (R)
	<i>el/la tòl</i>	
	<i>tolén</i>	
	<i>tolé</i>	<i>toléo</i> (RCT)
	<i>i/le tòl</i>	

b. Imperfect past indicative

I took	<i>tolévo</i>	<i>tolévi</i> (R), <i>toléva</i> (C)
...		

c. Future indicative

I will take	<i>torò</i>	<i>torài</i> (RCT)
...		

d. Present subjunctive

... that I take	... <i>che tòga</i>	<i>tòghia</i> (RCT)
...	... <i>che te tòghi</i>	
	... <i>che el/la tòga</i>	<i>tòghia</i> (RCT)
	... <i>che tolénte</i>	
	... <i>che toléghe</i>	
	... <i>che i/le tòga</i>	<i>tòghia</i> (RCT)

e. Imperfect subjunctive

... that I took	... <i>che toléssa</i>	<i>tolés</i> (R)
...		

f. Present conditional

I would take	<i>torìa</i>	
...		

g. Imperative

take! (sg.)	<i>tò!</i>	<i>töi</i> (C)
take! (pl.)	<i>tolé!</i>	

h. Non-finite forms

Infinitive	<i>tòr</i>
Past Participle	<i>tòlt, tòlta, tòlti, tòlte</i>
Gerund	<i>(tolèndo)</i>

7. Volér ('want')

a. Present indicative

I want	<i>vòi</i>	<i>vöi</i> (C)
...	<i>te vòi</i>	<i>vòs</i> (R), <i>vös</i> (C)
	<i>el/la vòl</i>	
	<i>volén</i>	
	<i>volé</i>	<i>voléo</i> (RCT)
	<i>i/le vòl</i>	

b. Imperfect past indicative

I want	<i>volévo</i>	<i>volévi</i> (R), <i>voléva</i> (C)
...		

c. Future indicative

I will want	<i>vorò</i>	<i>vorài</i> (RCT)
...		

d. Present subjunctive

... that I want	<i>... che vòga</i>	<i>vòia</i> (R), <i>vöbja</i> (C)
...	<i>... che te vòghi</i>	
	<i>... che el/la vòga</i>	<i>vòia</i> (R), <i>vöbja</i> (C)
	<i>... che volénte</i>	
	<i>... che voléghe</i>	
	<i>... che i/le vòga</i>	<i>vòia</i> (R), <i>vöbja</i> (C)

e. Imperfect subjunctive

... that I wanted	<i>... che voléssa</i>	<i>volés</i> (R)
...		

f. Present conditional

I would want	<i>vorìa</i>
...	

g. Imperative
does not exist

h. Non-finite forms

Infinitive	<i>volér</i>	
Past Participle	<i>volù, voluda, -i, -e</i>	<i>volèst(o), -a, -i, -e</i>
Gerund	<i>(volèndo)</i>	

8. Podér ('be able')

a. Present indicative

I can	<i>pòdo</i>	<i>pòdi</i> (R)
...	<i>te pòdi</i>	<i>pòdes</i> (RCT)
	<i>el/la pòl</i>	in inversion: <i>pòdel? pòdela?</i>
	<i>podén</i>	
	<i>podé</i>	<i>podéo</i> (RCT)
	<i>i/le pòl</i>	in inversion: <i>pòdei? pòdele?</i>

b. Imperfect past indicative

I could	<i>podévo</i>	<i>podévi</i> (R), <i>podéva</i> (C)
...		

c. Future indicative

I will be able	<i>pod(e)rò</i>	<i>pod(e)rài</i> (RCT)
...		

d. Present subjunctive

... that I can	... <i>che pòda</i>	<i>pòdia</i> (RCT)
...	... <i>che te pòdi</i>	
	... <i>che el/la pòda</i>	<i>pòdia</i> (RCT)
	... <i>che podénte</i>	
	... <i>che podéghe</i>	
	... <i>che i/le pòda</i>	<i>pòdia</i> (RCT)

e. Imperfect subjunctive

... that I could	... <i>che podéssa</i>	<i>podés</i> (R)
...		

f. Present conditional

I would be able *pod(e)ria*

...

g. Imperative

does not exist

h. Non-finite forms

Infinitive *podér*

Past Participle *podèst(o), -a, -i, -e* *podù, poduda, -i, -e*

Gerund *(podèndo)*

9. Vegnìr ('come') and tegnìr ('hold')

a. Present indicative

I come *vègno* *vègni (R)*

... *te vègni* *vègnes (RCT)*

el/la vèn

vegnìn

vegnì *vegnìo (RCT)*

i/le vèn

b. Imperfect past indicative

I came *vegnìvo* *vegnìvi (R), vegniva (C)*

...

c. Future indicative

I will come *vegnirò/vegnarò* *vegnarài (RCT)*

...

d. Present subjunctive

... that I come *... che vègna*

... *... che te vègni*

... che el/la vègna

... che vegnìnte

... che vegnìghe

... che i/le vègna

e. Imperfect subjunctive

... that I came ... *che vegnissa* *vegnìs* (R)

...

f. Present conditional

I would come *vegnìria*

...

g. Imperative

come! (sg.) *vèi*

come! (pl.) *vegnì*

h. Non-finite forms

Infinitive *vegnìr*

Past Participle *vegnù, -da, -di, -de* *vegnést(o), -a, -i, -e* (L)

Gerund (*vegnèndo*)

10. Savér ('know')

a. Present indicative

I know *sò* *sai*

... *te sai* *sas*

el/la sa

savén

savé *savéo*

i/le sa

b. Imperfect past indicative

I knew *savévo* *savévi* (R), *savéva* (C)

...

c. Future indicative

I will know *saverò* *sav(e)rài*

...

d. Present subjunctive

... that I know ... *che sapa* *sàpia* (RCT)

... ... *che te sapi*

... *che el/la sapa* *sàpia* (RCT)

... *che savénte*

... *che savéghe*
 ... *che i/le sapa* *sàpia* (RCT)

e. Imperfect subjunctive

... that I knew ... *che savéssa* *savés* (R)

...

f. Present conditional

I would know *savrìa*

...

g. Imperative

does not exist

h. Non-finite forms

Infinitive *savér*

Past Participle *savèst(o), -a, -i, -e* *savù, savuda, -i, -e*

Gerund (*savèndo*)

Verb Syntax

In this chapter we examine verb agreement, verb types and modifications of verbal valency in CT. Verb agreement (§ 8.1) is quite complex in this variety, and therefore it has been the subject of formal studies since the early 1980s. On the one hand, agreement is expressed not only through verbal morphology, but also through the use of subject clitic pronouns (see also § 4.2). On the other hand, there are some contexts that do not allow any agreement, neither through a subject clitic nor through verb endings. Among these cases we find VS structures, restrictive relative clauses and complex *wh*-interrogatives on the subject. At the end of § 8.1 we discuss agreement of the past participle with non-subject clitics: like in Italian and French, object clitics trigger agreement. As far as the clitic *ne* ('of it') is concerned, CT behaves like French and never shows agreement, unlike Italian.

Section 8.2 is devoted to the different verb types of CT, which can be distinguished on different bases: a first distinction can be made between lexical and functional verbs. Lexical verbs can further be distinguished on the basis of their valency (Tesnière 1959). Functional verbs, on the other hand, have little lexical meaning on their own; they need an embedded lexical verb, whose semantics they partially modify (for example *I see* > *I can see*). Nor do they have an argument structure on their own: the only arguments in the clause are those required by the lexical verb they embed. Functional verbs can be divided mainly into auxiliaries, modal verbs and aspectual verbs. Auxiliaries have no lexical meaning at all and are used to form periphrastic forms, such as compound tenses or passive constructions. Modals add information about the way an event takes place, and aspectual verbs focus on a specific part of the event described by the lexical verb. Finally, copular verbs (of which the most common are *èsser* 'be', *parér* 'look (like)') represent a third type, besides lexical and functional verbs.

In the last part of this section we discuss two construction types where two verbs, a fully-fledged and an infinitival verb, form a verbal unit. The first is formed by a modal or aspectual verb: in this case the verbal unification, called *restructuring* (Rizzi 1976a,b, 1978, 1982), is optional. When it obtains, the clitics representing the arguments of the infinitive attach to the higher functional verb ("clitic climbing"), and the auxiliary is selected by the infinitival, and not by the functional verb. These effects, called *transparency effects*, are hardly ever found in Trentino, unlike other Romance languages: the auxiliary

used with modal and aspectual verbs is always *avér*, and clitic climbing is also more restricted than in Italian. The second type of verbal unit is the *monoclausal construction*. In the Romance domain it appears with causative verbs and verbs of perception, which are then considered semi-functional, because they add just one argument (their subject) to the argument structure of the infinitival verb. There are two types of monoclausal construction: in one the semantic subject of the infinitive shows up as a dative argument (so called *faire-inf*, Kayne 1975), in the second it is demoted from the argument structure (*faire-par*). CT is more restrictive than Italian with regard to the use of the *faire-inf*, which is limited to one causative verb (*far*, “do”). The *faire-par*, on the other hand, is fully productive in both causative and perception structures.

Finally, Section 8.3 focuses on the passive voice, which is a typical mechanism of valency modification, since it allows the subject of a transitive verb to be removed from the argument structure. As a consequence, the semantic subject can only be recovered through an optional agentive phrase. In CT, as in many Italo-Romance dialects, the passive voice is not very common and is considered to be an Italian-like construction. Speakers of CT prefer to use other means of subject demotion, such as the ‘passive/impersonal’ *se* or the generic use of a third person plural: the main difference between them is that in *se*-constructions the semantic subject can include the speaker or the addressee, while the discourse participants are clearly excluded from the generic plural.

8.1 Verb Agreement

In CT, verbal agreement can be described from different points of view. One of them focuses on the locus of the agreement marking, which may be: i) on the inflected verb; ii) on the past participle; iii) through a subject clitic pronoun (see § 4.2). Another, which intersects the first, considers the argument triggering agreement: subject, object clitic, or partitive clitic. Note that some contexts that usually show agreement in other Romance varieties do not do so in CT, presentative sentences with a postverbal subject, for instance. In this section we discuss agreement triggered by subjects and by object and partitive clitics. For the clitic doubling of a dative object, see § 4.7.

Like all Romance languages, in CT the ending of inflected verbs expresses number and person, and the past participle ending gender and number. As shown in Chapter 7, CT has a rich verbal morphology and the verb endings are usu-

ally unambiguous. As far as inflected verbs are concerned, there is a systematic neutralization of number agreement with third person, the third singular ending having been extended to third plural in all tenses and moods, and homophony between first and third person singular in the subjunctive (all tenses) and conditional.

Even when the verbal endings are homophonous, the CT verbal system is never ambiguous, because it has an additional agreement marker: the subject clitic. In fact, the obligatory occurrence of subject clitics (1) disambiguates all contexts in which the same verb ending is used for more than one person (2)–(4):

- (1) **(El) magna.*
 he.CL eats
 'He's eating.'
- (2) a. *el magna. - i magna.* (Present indicative)
 he.CL eats they.CL eat
 'He eats.' vs. 'They [masc.] eat.'
- b. *el magna - la magna*
 he.CL eats she.CL eats
 'He eats.' vs. 'She eats.'
- (3) ... *che sia. - ... che la sia.* (Present subjunctive)
 that be.SBJV that she.CL be.SBJV
 '... that I am.' vs. '... that she is.'
- (4) *Quan che cantava ... - Quan che 'l*
 when that sung when that he.CL
cantava ... (Imperfect indicative in Cembra)
 sung
 'When I sung ...' vs. 'When he sung ...'

As (2)–(4) demonstrate, there is never any ambiguity. The examples in (2) show that subject clitics allow to distinguish between 3rd person singular and plural, and even between masculine and feminine. In (3)–(4), the difference between first and third person is given by the presence/absence of the subject clitic: there is no first person clitic subject pronoun in the CT inventory: thus, cases of this type in which no subject clitic occurs are undoubtedly interpretable as 1st person.

Past participles reveal a further agreement with the subject: when the verb is unaccusative (5) or passivized (6)–(7),¹ the past participle must agree with the subject in number and gender. This is similar to the agreement of adjectives in copular sentences (8):

- (5) ... *'na siora granda, della Guascogna, la è nada pelegrina*
 a woman noble from Gascony she.CL is gone pilgrim
al Santo Sepulcro. (Baselga di Piné; Papanti 1875: 634)
 to-the Holy Sepulchre
 '... a noble woman from Gascony went as pilgrim to the Holy Sepulchre.'

- (6) ... *nel vegnir de ritorno [...] la è stada da arcanti galiotti*
 in-the come.INF of return she.CL is been by some rascals
villanament 'ngiuriada. (Mezzolombardo; Papanti 1875: 638)
 rudely offended
 '... coming back [from the Holy Sepulchre], she was rudely offended by some rascals.'

- (7) a. *Le borse le va mèsse / *més sòt el*
 the bags they.CL go put.PTCP.F.PL put.PTCP.M.SG under the
lèt.
 bed
 'The bags must be put under the bed.'

- b. *Le stèore le va pagade.* (Fornace; Vinko 143, 28)
 the taxes they.CL go paid.PTCP.F.PL
 'The taxes must be paid.'

- (8) *La so gata la è vècia.*
 the his cat.F she.CL is old
 'His cat is old.'

On the other hand, with verbs that take the auxiliary *avér* ('have')—unergative and transitive verbs—past participle agreement with the subject never occurs:

¹ Passivation of the type in (6) is very seldom in CT, where other strategies of marginalization of the subject are preferred (see § 8.3). If passivation applies, though, it is obligatory to agree the participle with the subject, as this example shows. On the other hand, deontic passives with the verb *nar* 'go', as in (7), are common.

- (9) *Le a portà / *portade dei fióri ala*
 they.CL have brought.M.SG brought.F.PL of-the flowers to-the
Roberta.

Roberta

'They brought Roberta flowers.'

- (10) *I a caminà / *caminadi dó óre ancòì.*
 they.CL have walked.M.SG walked.M.PL two hours today
 'Today they have walked for two hours.'

However, there is one noteworthy exception to this rule: the participle of reflexive verbs always agrees with the subject, even though the auxiliary *avér* is used. This rule holds for reflexive, reciprocal, and medial *se*-constructions (11a)–(11c), cf. § 8.2.1:

- (11) a. *La Carla la s' a *vestì /*
 the Carla she.CL *se* has got-dressed.M.SG
vestida. (adapted from Cordin 2009: 87)
 got-dressed.F.SG
 'Carla got dressed.'

- b. *I s' a *sposà / sposadi*
 they.CL *se* have married.M.SG married.M.PL
zóveni. (adapted from Cordin 2009: 80)
 young
 'They got married young.'

- c. *La màchina la s' a *impizà / impizada.*
 the car she.CL *se* has turned-on.M.SG turned-on.F.SG
 'The car started.'

8.1.1 Subject Clitics as Agreement Markers

We have already mentioned the status of subject clitics as agreement markers. Here we show what evidence supports this conclusion: in fact, at first sight they may appear to be ordinary pronouns (like weak pronouns in French). This would mean that CT is a partial null subject language, with *pro* (the null subject) used only for the persons that lack a subject clitic. The examples in (12) show this possible interpretation:

- (12) a. *pro vago.* (to be corrected)
I.go

- b. *te vai.*
you.CL go
'I go, you go.'

(12) shows a hypothetical mixed system, in which subject clitics behave like real subjects, while a *pro* is used in the persons without subject clitics. This, however, is **not** the case: a series of studies (Brandi & Cordin 1981, 1989, Rizzi 1986) since the 1980s has shown that there are good reasons to consider CT subject clitics to be agreement markers rather than weak pronouns, as found in languages like French (cf. Kayne 1975, Cardinaletti & Starke 1999).² This interpretation is confirmed by a number of tests in which the behaviour of CT subject clitics is compared to French weak pronouns:³

i) subject clitics must co-occur with other subjects like NPs and free pronouns (see § 4.2), even when they are not topicalised. On the other hand, in French they co-occur only in topicalization contexts:

- (13) a. *El contadin el guérna le bèstie.* (Levico; ALD-II 800–801)
the farmer he.CL feeds the beasts

- b. *Le paysan (*il) nourrit les bêtes.* (Standard French)
the farmer he.WEAK feeds the beasts
'The farmer is feeding his animals.'

- (14) a. *Ti *(te) crédi.* (Vezzano; ALD-II 596)
you you.CL believe

- b. *Toi (*tu) crois.* (Standard French)
you you.WEAK believe
'You believe.'

2 There is abundant literature for the status of the subject pronouns in Northern Italian Dialects as clitics, see Brandi & Cordin (1981, 1989), Renzi & Vanelli (1983), Rizzi (1986), Poletto (1993b, 2000), Cardinaletti & Starke (1999), Roberts (2010), a.o.

3 Some tests on clitic-hood are also presented by Rizzi (1986), Vanelli (1987), Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) and Poletto (2000), a.o.

ii) subject clitics are repeated in coordination, unlike “true” subjects:

- (15) a. *La Francesca la canta e *(la) bala.* (Central Trentino)
 the Francesca she.CL sings and she.CL dances
- b. *Françoise chante et (*elle) danse.* (Standard French)
 Françoise sings and she.WEAK dances
 ‘Francesca’s singing and dancing.’

iii) subject clitics appear between the negation and the verb, while “true” subjects always occur on the left of negation:

- (16) a. *No i doveria béver tanta*
 not they.CL should drink so.much
sgnapa. (Mezzocorona; ALD-II 528–529)
 grappa
- b. *Ils ne devraient pas boire trop d’*
 they not.CL should NEG drink too.much of
eau-de-vie. (Standard French)
 brandy
 ‘They should’nt drink that much brandy.’

Further evidence exists, like the absence of a full series of subject clitics (since three persons out of six persons cannot be expressed through a clitic pronoun) and the fact that subject clitics can never bear stress, unlike weak pronouns (see Cardinaletti & Starke 1999).

The status of subject clitics is the result of a reanalysis of free pronouns that started in the Middle Ages: free pronouns were progressively weakened, becoming first weak and then syntactic clitics. Although the limited attestations in earlier stages of CT do not allow us to draw conclusions for this variety in diachrony, we know that this was a common process that affected all Northern Italian varieties (Vanelli 1987).

Although subject clitics are found in all Northern Italian varieties (as well as in some Tuscan dialects), they differ in their distribution. As noted in § 4.2, the variation within these varieties is organised around an implicational scale that goes from left to right:

- (17) *variables > quantifiers > NP subjects > free pronouns*

If subject clitics are used with one of these elements, they will also be used with all the elements to their right. CT uses clitics with NP subjects, and therefore also with free pronouns (cf. above). The data on CT quantifiers are not homogeneous, and there seems to be variation (see § 4.2 for examples). On the other hand, the clitic never appears in clauses in which the subject is a variable, whether in restrictive relative clauses (18) or when a *wh*-interrogative is on the subject (19):

- (18) *Le putele che (*le) ha parlà con*
the girls that they.CL have talked with
ti. (Brandi & Cordin 1989: 126)
you
‘The girls that talked to you’

- (19) *Quante putèle (*le) ha parlà con*
how-many girls they.CL have talked with
ti? (Brandi & Cordin 1989: 125)
you
‘How many girls talked to you?’

Furthermore, there is another context in which subject clitics do not occur: when the subject is postverbal (but not right-dislocated), doubling by a subject clitic never occurs:⁴

- (20) a. *(*L') a telefonà qualche*
she.CL has called some
putèla. (adapted from Brandi & Cordin 1989: 115)
girl
‘Some girl called.’
- b. *(*La) scominzia la lezzión.*
she.CL begins the lesson
‘The lesson is beginning.’

4 Note that there are two exceptions to this rule: i) the free second person singular pronoun *ti* is always doubled by a clitic (i); ii) clausal subjects of copular verbs beginning with a vowel require a default third singular masculine clitic, see below, examples (32)–(33).

(i) *Te sei rivada ti.*
you.CL are arrived you
‘You have arrived.’

The ban on subject clitics when the subject is a variable (18)–(19) or post-verbal (20) should be seen as part of a more general phenomenon, namely the total absence of agreement in these two contexts, with the use of the default 3rd person singular masculine form: the occurrence of the default form is not visible on the verbal ending, which is syncretic for 3rd singular and 3rd plural, but it is on the participle. The participle usually shows agreement for number and gender, but with variables as subjects and in VS clauses it occurs in the default form (cf. (21a) and (22a) with (21b) and (22b)):

- (21) a. *Sète putèle le è vegnude con ti.*
 seven girls they.CL are come.F.PL with you
 ‘Seven girls came with you.’
- b. *Quante putèle è vegnù / *vegnude con*
 how many girls is come.M.SG come.F.PL with
ti? (adapted from Brandi & Cordin 1989: 124)
 you
 ‘How many girls came with you?’
- (22) a. *Le putèle le è vegnude algéri.*
 the girls they.CL are come.F.PL yesterday
 ‘The girls came yesterday.’
- b. *Le putèle che è vegnù / *vegnude*
 the girls that is come.M.SG come.F.PL
algéri. (adapted from Brandi & Cordin 1989: 126)
 yesterday
 ‘The girls that came yesterday.’

Note that in this case the missing agreement is found on the participle (*vegnù* vs. *vegnude*), the inflected verb *è* being ambiguous between the third person singular and plural (cf. § 7.2.1).

In CT, the past participle (but never the inflected verb) sometimes agrees with the direct object. This type of agreement is also found, with some differences, in other Romance varieties like Italian and French: in CT, past participle agreement can only be triggered by clitic pronouns, and not by free pronouns or NPs. The following clitics trigger agreement (see Gatti 1989/90):

- i) 1st and 2nd person object clitics: agreement is obligatory. Note that in (23) and (24) the object clitics *me* and *ne* have no gender marking. Nevertheless,

if the object(s) are feminine, the participle obligatorily shows the feminine ending.

- (23) *El Mario el m' ha vista en piazza.* (Montesover, ASIt 1.21)
 the Mario he.CL me has seen.F.SG in square
 'Mario has seen me in the square.'

- (24) *La mama la ne a ciamadi/e.*
 the mum she.CL us has seen.M.PL/F.PL
 'The mum called us all.'

ii) 3rd person object clitics (including the reflexive *se*): speakers usually agree the participle with the object clitic. All examples in the ASIt and ALD-II are consistent on this point:

- (25) *L' hai vista aeri.* (Montesover, ASIt 1.8)
 her.CL (I) have seen.F.SG yesterday
 'I saw her yesterday.'

- (26) *Mei son legiudi tuti.* (Montesover, ASIt 1.2)
 me.CL=them.CL I.am read.M.PL all
 'I have read them all.'

- (27) *El me l' a vendudi.* (Trento, ALD-II 610)
 he.CL me.CL them.CL.M.PL has sold.M.PL
 'He sold me them.'

iii) the partitive clitic *ne*:⁵ data from ASIt and ALD show that speakers prefer to use the participle in the default masculine singular form, rather than agreeing it with the quantified object. This is in sharp contrast to Italian, where we find participle agreement:

- (28) a. *Ne hai vist poche, de case sì*
 of.them.CL (I) have seen.M.SG few.F.PL of houses so
bele. (Montesover, ASIt 1.12)
 beautiful

5 Note that the distinction between the partitive clitic *ne* and the object clitic *ne* ('us') must be retained.

- b. *Ne ho viste poche, di case così*
 of.them.CL (I) have seen.F.PL few.F.PL of houses so
belle. (Italian)
 beautiful
 'I have seldom seen so beautiful houses.'

- (29) a. *Quanta n' at magnà?* (Trento, ALD-II 544)
 how-much of.it.CL have=you.CL eaten.M.SG

- b. *Quanta ne hai mangiata?* (Italian)
 how-much of-it.CL you.have eaten
 'How much of it have you eaten?'

On the other hand, dative and locative clitics never trigger past participle agreement.

8.2 Verb Types

8.2.1 *Lexical Verbs*

Lexical verbs can be divided according to their valency. Semiargumental verbs, such as meteorological verbs, take an obligatory expletive subject that morphologically corresponds to a 3rd person masculine singular subject clitic (cf. § 4.2)—it has been shown that they always have a silent subject argument, such as *the rain* or *the snow* (see Benincà & Cinque 1992, Siller-Runggaldier 2004, Puglielli & Frascarelli 2008, Dallabrida 2018).⁶

- (30) *El pió.*
 it.CL rains
 'It rains.'

- (31) *El fiòca.*
 it.CL snows
 'It snows.'

⁶ Note that in CT meteorological verbs are never used metaphorically, while this is frequent in standard Romance languages (cf. expressions like It. *piovono critiche* 'a hail of criticism rains down').

Expletive subject pronouns are also found in impersonal expressions, usually formed with the verb *èsser* + adjective/noun. Unlike meteorological verbs, these are regular copular expressions: the subject is an infinitive (32), usually in the postverbal position, or a clause introduced by *che* (33). As shown in 4.2, a subject clitic pronoun is only present if the verb is a form of *èsser* that begins with a vowel:

- (32) *L' è difizzil(e) ubidìr.* (Trento, ALD-II 197)
 it.CL is difficult obey
 'Obeying is difficult.'

- (33) *L' è n pecà che l Claudio el sia zà na via.*
 it.CL is a pity that the Claudio he.CL is.SBJV already gone away
 'It's a pity that Claudio has already gone.'

Monovalent verbs select one argument to which they assign nominative case: they are unaccusative (e.g. *nasser* 'be born') or unergative verbs (e.g. *šbadazzàr* 'yawn', Burzio 1986).

- (34) *El Mario l' è nassù ai 5 de otóbre.*
 the Mario he.CL is born at-the 5 of October
 'Mario was born on the 5th of October.'

- (35) *Éla l' a šbadazzà tut el tèmp.*
 she she.CL has yawned all the time
 'She kept yawning the whole time.'

Examples of bivalent verbs are given in (36)–(37), and an example of trivalent verbs in (38). One argument is always the subject, while the other(s) may be a direct or indirect object, a prepositional phrase or a clause:

- (36) *L' Anna l' a ciamà la Maria.*
 the Anna she.CL has called the Maria
 'Anna called Maria.'

- (37) *El Luca l' è na a Pèrzen.*
 the Luca he.CL is gone to Pergine
 'Luca went to Pergine.'

- (38) *La mama la g' a dit a so fiòl che l èra*
 the mum she.CL him.DAT.CL has said to his son that it.CL was
tardi.
 late
 'The mum said to her son that it was late.'

In CT there are no verbs that can be used both as transitive and unaccusative without morphological changes (verbs like Italian *affondare* and English *sink*). Unaccusatives can only be causativised by an overt causative verb (39); transitive verbs, on the other hand, can only be made unaccusative by using the pronominal *se* (40):

- (39) a. *La barca la è nada zó.*
 the boat she.CL is gone down
 'The boat went to the bottom.'
- b. *I pirati i a fat nar zó la barca.*
 the pirates they.CL have made go down the boat
 'Pirates made the boat go to the bottom.'
- (40) a. *El sól el a brusà le fòie.*
 the sun he.CL has burned the leaves
 'The sun burned the leaves.'
- b. *[Le fòie] le s' è brusade per el sól.*
 [the leaves] they.CL se are burned for the sun
 'The leaves burned because of the sun.'

Note that the verbal valency may be modified if a locative element is added, yielding a 'Verb + Locative' construction (cf. §7.5).

8.2.2 Functional Verbs

Functional verbs can be divided into three groups: auxiliaries, modal and aspectual verbs. The auxiliaries in CT are *èsser* and *avér* for the compound tenses: their distribution mainly depends on the verb type: the general rule is that unaccusatives have the auxiliary *èsser* and unergatives and transitive verbs the auxiliary *avér*. This pattern resembles Italian, although CT tends to extend the use of *avér* to some verb classes that in Italian use *essere* (mainly meteorological, functional and reflexive verbs). *Vegnìr* and *èsser* are used for the passive voice (in simple and compound tenses, respectively). Moreover, the verb *nar* is

used with a past participle to indicate a deontic passive (e.g. *It must be done*). Aspectual values are expressed either by specific verbs (e.g. *scominzià* 'start', *seguità* 'continue') or by aspectual periphrases. These are formed either with 'èsser + locative adverb' or by 'star + preposition'. Finally, *star* is also used as a functional verb in negative imperatives.

8.2.2.1 Auxiliary Verbs

Like several Romance varieties, CT is characterised by *Split Intransitivity* (see Burzio 1986, Sorace 2000, 2004, a.o.): in general, *avér* is used with transitive and unergative verbs, *èsser* with unaccusative verbs. However, as shown in Cordin (2009), CT tends to extend the use of *avér* with some verb types that show a lower degree of unaccusativity in Sorace's (2000, 2003) unaccusativity hierarchy (although there is a great deal of inter-speaker variation). *Èsser* is used for the prototypical cases of unaccusativity: changes of place (e.g. *nar*, (41)) and of state (*morir*). With other verb types, which are less typically unaccusative, the choice depends on the single verb, with a tendency to prefer *avér*. This group contains verbs expressing a continuation of state (*continuà*, (42)), existence (whereby *èsser* and *deventà* take only the auxiliary *èsser* (43), while others like *viver* take both *èsser* and *avér* (44)) and an indefinite change (*rinfriscà*, (45)):

- (41) *La Maria la è nada via.*
the Maria she.CL is gone away
'Maria went away.'

- (42) *La guera l' a continuà / l' èi continuada per*
the war she.CL has continued she.CL is continued for
ani. (Cordin 2009: 77)
years
'The war went on for years.'

- (43) *Me fiòla l'è diventada maèstra de taliàn.*
my daughter she.CL-is become teacher of Italian
'My daughter became teacher of Italian.'

- (44) *Me papà l'è / l'a vivèst per trent' ani en*
my father he.CL-is he.CL-has lived for thirty years in
Cànada. (Cordin 2009: 77)
Canada
'My father lived in Canada for thirty years.'

- (45) *Stanòte l'a rinfrescà.*
 tonight it.CL-has freshened
 'The temperature went down tonight.'

Furthermore, there are some verb classes that consistently take *avér* in CT: modals (46)–(47) and meteorological verbs (48):⁷

- (46) *El Mario l'a podù nar en pensión.*
 the Mario he.CL-has been.able go in retirement
 'Mario could retire.'

- (47) *Averésse dovésto scoltàr quele veciòte strache.*
 you.should.have had.to listen.to those old.ladies tired
 'You should have listened to those tired old ladies.' (Trento, ALD II 20–21)

- (48) *L' a piovù tut el dì.*
 it.CL has rained all the day
 'It rained all day long.'

Finally, a last group that deserves to be mentioned consists of verbs occurring with the clitic *se* (both reflexive and impersonal verbs, see §4.3). In CT there are a number of variables governing auxiliary selection in such cases. Among them, the most important factor seems to be grammatical person: *èsser* is generally used with 1st and 2nd person, *avér* with 3rd person subjects.⁸ On the other hand, the type of verb (whether inherent, transitive, or intransitive) does not seem to play any significant role. This distribution is by and large confirmed by the ASIIt and ALD data, with the exception of Segonzano (Cembrano). As Table 45 shows, 1st and 2nd person subjects hardly ever take *avér* as auxiliary; only in Segonzano (Cembra), where *avér* seems almost generalised with all subjects, the use of *èsser* is not attested (49b). In the case of 3rd person subjects, however, *avér* seems to be preferred (50)–(52).⁹ Exceptions are found in stimuli containing a typical Italian expression (the verbs *raffreddarsi* or *accorgersi*): since the stimuli for both the ASIIt and

⁷ *Avér* is also used in restructuring contexts (see §8.2.3).

⁸ This distribution has also been observed by Loporcaro & Vigolo (1995) in the nearby Valsugana area.

⁹ But exceptions are already found in the AIS: the speaker of Faver uses *èsser* with the stimulus *si è nascosto* ('He hid'), although the verb is in the third person. The speaker of Viarago, on the contrary, uses *avér* with the same stimulus (AIS 900).

TABLE 45 Auxiliary selection with reflexive verbs in different localities of CT

Italian stimulus in the ALD-II	Rural CT			Urban CT				
	Rotaliana	Cembra		Valle dei Laghi (West of Trento)	City of Trento		Western Valsugana (East of Trento)	
	San Michele	Segonzano	Cembra	Verzano	Trento 1	Trento 2	Civezzano	Vigolo Vattaro
	ALD 66	ALD 112	ALD 113	ALD 67	ALD 121	ALD 122	ALD 120	ALD 123
<i>si è lavata/o le mani</i> (139) <i>se</i> is washed the hands 'He/she washed his/her hands.'	A/E	A	A	A	A	E	A	A
<i>se le è lavate</i> (140) <i>se</i> them.CL is washed 'He/she washed them.'	A	A	A	A	A	E/A	A	E
<i>si è tolto il cappotto</i> (957) <i>se</i> is taken.off the coat 'He took off his coat.'	A	A	A	A	E	A	A	A
<i>si scusarono</i> (572) <i>se</i> they.apologised 'They apologised.'	A	A	A	A	A	E	A	A
<i>si è sentita male</i> (510) <i>se</i> is felt ill 'She felt ill.'	A	–	–	–	A	A	A	A
<i>non te ne sei accorto?</i> (303) not you.CL of-it.CL you.are noticed 'Didn't you notice it?'	E	A	E	E	E	E	E	A
<i>si è sposato</i> (24) <i>se</i> is married 'He got married.'	E	A	E	A	E/A	A/E	E	E
<i>ti sei addormentato</i> (130) you.CL you.are fallen-asleep 'You fell asleep.'	E	A	E	E	E	E	E	E
<i>mi sono fatto tagliare i capelli</i> (146) me.CL I.am made cut the hair 'I had my hair cut.'	E	E	–	E	E	E	E	A

the ALD were given in Italian, the use of verbs that do not have a direct correspondent in CT may trigger an “Italian-like” translation pattern (using *èsser*).

In addition, one unexpected result is the verb *marry*, which always allows *èsser* (except for Segonzano), and only for some speakers alternates with *avér*:¹⁰

- (49) a. ... *che te sés endormenzà subit.* (Cembra, ALD-II
that you.CL are fallen-asleep right-away 130–131)

- b. ... *che t’ as ndormensà subito.* (Segonzano, *ibid.*)
that you.CL have fallen-asleep right-away
‘... that you fell asleep right away.’

- (50) a. ... *e dòpo la s’ a sentuda mal.* (Trento, ALD-II, 510)
and then she.CL se has felt ill

- b. ... *e dòpo la s’ è sentìa male.* (Levico, *ibid.*)
and then she.CL se is felt ill
‘... and then she felt ill.’

- (51) a. *I s’ a scusa(d)i.* (San Michele, ALD-II 572)
they.CL se have apologised

- b. *I s’ è scusadi.* (Trento 2, *ibid.*¹¹)
they.CL se are apologised
‘They apologized.’

¹⁰ Note that in Central Trentino there are two verbs for *marry*: *maridarse* and *sposarse*. The first is only dialectal and is nowadays felt to be archaic in the urban dialect, while the second is shared with Italian. Nonetheless, lexical choice does not influence auxiliary selection: one of the informants of Trento (p. 122) gives two answers: *aver* + *sposarse* (first answer) and *èsser* + *maridarse*:

(i) a. *el s’ a sposà.*
he.CL se has married
b. *el s’ è maridà. (arch.)* (Trento 2, ALD-II 24)
he.CL se is married
‘He got married.’

¹¹ In this sentence, the auxiliary *èsser* is only used by one of the two informants of Trento. All the other informants of CT use *avér*.

(52) a. *El s' a sposà.* (Vezzano, ALD-II 24)
 he.CL se has married

b. *el s' è sposà.* (Civezzano, ibid.)
 he.CL se is married
 'He got married.'

Note that the participle of reflexive verbs must agree with the subject, even though the auxiliary *avér* is used (cf. § 8.1.2).

8.2.2.2 Modal Verbs

Turning to modal verbs, CT uses *podér* for 'can' (53), see § 7.2.¹² To express an obligation ('must'), different verbs are available: *cognér* (< *CONVENIRE*, REW 174 s.v. 2192), *gavér da* and *dovér*. They can all be used for deontic readings (i.e., indicating an obligation), while only *dovér* can also be used with epistemic value; the most common way to indicate an epistemic reading, however, is to use the future tense (see § 7.2.2). *Cognér* is a—declining—conservative form: while Groff (1955) indicated that it was used in the city of Trento, nowadays it seems to be restricted to the surrounding rural area, according to the ALD-II (map 833): *cognér* is used in Civezzano and Vigolo Vattaro, but not in the city itself (54a). *Gavér da* ('have to') is now the most common verb, and it competes with *dovér*: it is present in the city, in many parts of the province of Trento and also in the Veneto (54b). *Dovér* (54c) is an Italianism which has spread in the urban dialect especially, where it has been used for several decades (it is already attested in De Gentilotti's theatre piece cited in Groff 1955, for instance). While all three forms can be used with both deontic and epistemic value, there are two additional impersonal verbs which only carry a deontic modal value: *tóca* and *bisòn/bisògn(a)*. The first takes a dative object, which indicates the person that must do something (55), while the latter indicates a generic obligation ((56), like English *it is necessary*):

(53) *La me nòna no la pòl magnàr le nòs, parché la*
 the my grandma not she.CL can eat the nuts, because she.CL
ga la dentiéra.
 has the dentures
 'My grandma can't eat nuts, because she has dentures.'

12 Note that *volér*, which is traditionally grouped with modal verbs, is actually a control verb, as shown by the fact that it can select both infinitival and embedded finite clauses (see also § 9.2.2).

- (54) a. *Cògno sentarme.* (Civezzano, ALD-II 829, 120)
 I.must sit=me.CL
- b. *Gò da sentarme zó.* (Vigolo Vattaro, *ibid.*)
 I.have to sit=me.CL down
- c. *Dévo sentarme.* (Trento 1, *ibid.*)
 I.must sit-me
 'I must sit down.'
- (55) *Me tóca nar al mercà.*
 me.CL touches go to-the market
 'I have to go to the market.'
- (56) a. *Bisògn(a) pagàr sùbito.* (Trento, ALD-II 507)
 it-is-necessary pay right-away
 'One has to pay right away.'
- b. *Bisògn(a) che i veciòti i béva de*
 it-is-necessary that the elders they.CL drink.SBJV of
pu. (Trento 1, ALD-II 545–546)
 more
 'Elderly people need to drink more.'

Note that *tocàr* and *bisògn(a)* do not have an expletive clitic (55)–(56), cf. § 4.2.

8.2.2.3 Aspectual Verbs

CT has several aspectual verbs, which in some cases are synonymous. The aspects expressed by these verbs are:

- a. **Ingressive/inchoative aspect:** *begin/start* can be expressed with *scomenzàr* (< EX+*COMINITIARE¹³—for the prefix *s-*, see § 7.4.2) and with *tacàr* (which also means 'attach'), (57).
- b. **Egressive/terminative aspect:** to express the end of an event, the verbs *ruàr* (< (AD)ripare, which also means 'arrive', cf. REW 675; Groff 1955, ALD-II 839 p. 121) and *finìr* can be used for 'finish', *mpiantàr* (cf. Italian *piantarla* 'stop'), *petàr* (*lì*) (< (EX)PECTARE), *lassàr lì* and *deśméter* (cf. Italian *smettere*) for 'stop' (see ALD-II map 839), (58).

13 Treccani, s.v. 'cominciare'.

- c. **Continuous aspect:** this value can be expressed through the verbs *seghitâr/seguitâr* (cf. Spanish *seguir* and formal/archaic Italian *seguire*), *nar avanti* (lit. “go forward”) or *continuàr* (59).

Aspectual verbs usually take an infinitive introduced by a prepositional complementiser as their complement. As in other Romance languages, *a* is used with the inchoative and continuous, *de* with the terminative aspect.¹⁴ Unlike Central Venetan dialects, the preposition *a* is never phonologically null in CT (Penello 2003), cf. § 5.3.

- (57) *Scominsiàr a créscer* (Civezzano, ALD-II 37)
 start to grow
 ‘Start growing.’

- (58) *La cagna no la finis / péta lì / impianta*
 the she-dog not she.CL finishes stops there stops
lì / rua / deśmèt / lassa lì de
 there finishes leaves lets there of
abaiàr. (adapted from ALD-II 839)
 bark.INF
 ‘The dog doesn’t stop barking.’

- (59) *La maèstra la séghita / séguita / va avanti / continua*
 the teacher she.CL continues continues goes on continues
a spiegàr.
 to explain
 ‘The teacher keeps explaining.’

Aspect can also be expressed through other periphrases (Cordin 1997) constructed either with the verb *star*, or with *èsser* followed by a locative adverb (*chì* ‘here’, *lì* ‘there’, *drio* ‘behind’).¹⁵ The aspectual values they express are:

- 14 Note that aspectual verbs usually have a lexical counterpart:
 (i) *El matèl no l a ancóra finì i còmputi.*
 the boy not he.CL has yet finished the homework
 ‘The boy hasn’t finished his homework yet.’
 (ii) *Scominzia la lezzión.*
 starts the lesson
 ‘The lesson starts.’

- 15 *Èsser chì* (lit. “be here”) and *èsser lì* (lit. “be there”) have the same aspectual value: the choice between *chì* and *lì* depends just on deixis.

- a. **imminent/proximative aspect:** *star per* (60), *èsser chì/lì per* (61) and in some cases also *èsser drio a/che* ((62); although the main aspectual value of *èsser drio* is progressive, see below point c):

(60) *El carpentiér el sta per crodàr*
 the carpenter he.CL is for fall
zó. (Civezzano, ALD-II 568–569)
 down
 ‘The carpenter is about to fall off.’

(61) *Lè lì per pèrderse via.* (Roveré della Luna, ALD-II 173)
 she.CL-is there for loose=se away
 ‘She’s about to faint.’

(62) *L’èi dré che la va n tèra.* (Trento 2, ALD-II 173)
 she.CL-is behind that she.CL goes in floor
 ‘She’s about to faint.’

- b. **durative/intensive aspect:** *star a* (63), *èsser chì/lì che* or *èsser chì/lì a* (64);

(63) *Cos’è che te stai a far?* (Civezzano, ALD-II 321)
 what-is that you.CL stay at do.INF
 ‘What are you doing?’

(64) *Són chì che scrivo.* (Vezzano, ALD-II 322)
 I.am here that I.write
 ‘I’m writing.’

- c. **progressive aspect:** *esser drio a* (65), *èsser drio che* (66):

(65) *Còsa sét drio a far?* (Trento 1, ALD-II 321)
 what are=you.CL behind to do
 ‘What are you doing?’

(66) *Che sés dré che fas po?* (Mezzocorona, ALD-II 321)
 what you.are behind that you.do PART
 ‘What are you doing?’

Note that there is a slight difference between durative and progressive periphrases: durative periphrases indicate that somebody is intent on doing some-

thing, progressive periphrases indicate an ongoing action. Both types of periphrasis are incompatible with states (Vendler 1957); in addition, however, durative periphrases exclude achievements and verbs of movement in general, while these are possible (with some restrictions) with progressive periphrases:

- (67) *Èro lì che névo al mercà
I.was there that I.went to-the market

- (68) Èro drio a nar al mercà.
I.was behind to go to-the market
'I was going to the market.'

8.2.3 Restructuring and Monoclausal Constructions

Restructuring and monoclausal constructions are two phenomena that may be found when an infinitive is selected by a functional (especially modal or aspectual) or semi-functional (causative or perception) verb.

Restructuring—when a functional verb forms a verbal unit with the embedded infinitive—is a phenomenon found in many Romance varieties (Rizzi 1976a, b, 1978, Cinque 2006, a.o.). The fact that the two verbs form a single predicate leads to a series of effects (“transparency effects”), two of the most straightforward of which are auxiliary selection and clitic climbing. In CT, however, these effects are more limited than in Italian: the auxiliary of modal verbs is always *avér*, whatever type of verb the infinitive is (69); the use of *èsser* is usually rejected by the informants as a clear Italianism (70):

- (69) Ò podù nar a Roveréto.
I.have been.able go.INF to Rovereto
'I could go to Rovereto.'

- (70) *Són podù nar a Roveréto.
I.am been.able go.INF to Rovereto

The second phenomenon typical of restructuring contexts is clitic climbing: the clitic pronouns representing the arguments of the infinitive can attach to the higher functional verb instead of to the infinitive. This phenomenon is also rather infrequent in CT: the preferred option usually avoids clitic climbing (71).

- (71) a. *Volerìa dàrgheło domàn.*
 I.want.COND give=him.DAT.CL=it.CL tomorrow
- b. **?Ghe 'l volerìa dar domàn.*
 him.DAT.CL it.CL I.want.COND give tomorrow
 'I'd like to give it to him tomorrow.'

The version without clitic climbing (71a) is clearly preferred by the speakers. Nevertheless, sentences with clitic climbing (71b) may also be produced, especially in contexts where the Italian influence is stronger. When asked for their judgements, all informants preferred the version without (71a), but disagreed on sentences with clitic climbing: some of them considered them to be marginal, others rejected it as a clear Italianism. Casalicchio & Padovan (2019), however, report that certain contexts increase the grammaticality of clitic climbing: the use of the modal verb *dovér* (maybe because of its Italian origin, although nowadays it is part of the system) and the presence of clitic clusters like in (71b), for example.¹⁶ Overall, we can state that restructuring in itself is marginal in CT, since it only shows up in very limited contexts, and only affects clitic climbing and never auxiliary selection.

If we compare the behaviour of CT with that of the surrounding dialects, it seems to be located between Venetan and Gallo-Italic varieties: according to the ASIt-data, Venetan varieties do not allow clitic climbing at all. The Venetan native speakers whom we consulted confirmed this. On the other hand, the Gallo-Italic varieties spoken in Eastern Lombardy seem to behave like CT: clitic climbing is still dispreferred in unmarked contexts, but is nonetheless used in a variety of cases (see the ASIt database).

In Romance, monoclausal constructions are formed with causative verbs and with verbs of perception: these may form a complex predicate with the infinitive that follows them. When this occurs, the clitics only attach to the matrix verb. The two verbs then form a single case marking domain and consequently there can only be one accusative case. This reordering principally affects the logical subject of the infinitive, which can appear in different complement types: if the infinitive is intransitive, it is marked accusative (72a). On the other hand, if the infinitive already assigns accusative to its object, its logical subject cannot receive accusative case (72b); it gets either dative case (72c)

16 Casalicchio & Padovan (2019) base this statement both on direct interviews with some native speakers and on the answers they got from speakers in a Facebook group dedicated to the dialects of Trentino.

or is demoted from the argument structure (72d). In the latter case, it can be recovered through an optional agentive phrase:

- (72) a. *I pòpi i fa pianzer la Maria. / I pòpi*
the children they.CL make cry the Maria the children
i la fa pianzer.
they.CL her.CL make cry
‘The children make Maria cry / The children make her cry.’
- b. **Fago véder el libro i pòpi.*
I.make see the book the children
- c. *Ghe fago véder el libro ai pòpi.*
them.dat.CL I.make see the book to-the children
‘I show the children the book.’
- d. *La Maria l’a fat visitàr el so zio (dal dotór).*
the Maria she.CL-has made examine the her uncle by-the doctor
‘Maria had her uncle examined (by the doctor).’

In (72a) the embedded verb is unergative and does not assign accusative case; therefore, its logical subject *Maria* gets accusative. In (72b)–(72d), on the other hand, *véder* (‘see’) and *visitàr* (‘examine’) are two transitive verbs that have their own direct object (‘book’ and ‘her uncle’, respectively). Since the object of the infinitive gets accusative, its logical subject can only get dative or be inserted in an agentive PP. Following Kayne (1975), constructions in which the logical subject of the infinitive is marked dative are called *faire-inf* (72c), those in which it is demoted, *faire-par* (72d).

When the verb *far* (‘make’) is used, a monoclausal construction is obligatory. Thus, the logical subject of the infinitive cannot receive accusative case if there is another direct object in the clause (72b); moreover, since *far* and the infinitive form a complex predicate, the logical subject of the infinitive never occurs between the two verbs (cf. (72a) with (73)):

- (73) *I pòpi i fa (*la Maria) pianzer (la Maria).*
the children they.CL make the Maria cry the Maria
‘The children make Maria cry.’

CT shares this property with Italian and French, while some Spanish dialects allow the position of the logical subject of the infinitive between the two verbs.

With the causative verb *lassàr* ('let') and with the verbs of perception *véder* ('see') and *sentir* ('hear'), things are not as clear-cut as with *far*. In fact, these verbs can combine either with the biclausal (74) or with the monoclausal construction (75). However, in the second case they can only form a *faire-par* (75a), and not a *faire-inf*, construction (75b):

- (74) a. *Ò vist el Mario fumàr la pipa*
 I.have seen the Mario smoke the pipe
 'I saw Mario smoke the pipe.'
- b. *L' ò vist fumàr la pipa.*
 him.CL I.have seen smoke the pipe
 'I saw/let him smoke the pipe.'
- (75) a. *L' ò vista fumàr (dai pòpi).*
 her.CL I.have seen smoke by-the children
 'I saw it being smoked (by the children).'
- b. **G' ò vist fumàr la pipa ai pòpi.*
 them.DAT.CL I.have seen smoke the pipe to-the children

In the examples (74)–(75) the verb of perception takes the infinitive of a transitive verb, *fumàr* ('smoke'). In (74) it forms a biclausal construction: the logical subject of the infinitive can be placed between the two verbs (74a) and it can be cliticized through an object clitic (74b): this shows that the matrix and the infinitive verb form two independent case domains. In (75) it forms a monoclausal construction: in (75a) a *faire-par* construction occurs, with demotion of the logical subject of the infinitive; in (75b), on the other hand, the logical subject is realised as a dative (in a *faire-inf*)—but this is ungrammatical with verbs of perception (unlike with *far*).

Thus, the difference between monoclausal and biclausal constructions implies a different status of the matrix verb: it is lexical in biclausal constructions (i.e., it selects an infinitival clause as complement) and semi-functional in monoclausal constructions: in the latter case it has a hybrid nature, because it forms a single clause with the infinitive, like functional verbs, while adding an argument (causer or perceiver) to the clause.

8.3 Passive Voice and Other Mechanisms of Subject Demotion

8.3.1 *Passive Voice*

In CT, as in many other Italian dialects, morphological passives are rarely used. One reason for this is that, even in the standard Romance languages, the use of passives is usually marked as more formal or as pertaining to particular styles. Since the CT dialect is in a diglossia situation with Italian, it is used in informal registers, which tend to prefer either constructions with *se* or generic plurals (see §§ 8.3.2–3). Nonetheless, passive constructions do exist and can be used, as the relevant ALD-II maps (241, 435 and 634) demonstrate. In tenses that are synthetic in the active, only the verb *vegnìr* ('come') is used (76); in analytic tenses, on the other hand, only *èsser* is found (77). A further passive type is constructed with the verb *nar*: this is a deontic passive, referring to a necessity (78). Deontic passives are the only type of morphological passive that are regularly used in CT:

- (76) *Chì el todésch no l vegniva parlà.* (Trento 1, ALD-II 240 f.)
 here the German not he.CL came spoken
 'Here German wasn't spoken.'

- (77) *Tuti dói i ladri i è stadi ciapadi (dala polizia).*
 all two the thief they.CL are been taken by-the
 police (Civezzano, adapted from ALD-II 633 f.)
 'Both thieves were arrested (by the police).'

- (78) *La valis envéze la va méssa*
 the suitcase instead she.CL goes put
sóra. (Trento 1, ALD-II 423 f.)
 above
 'But the suitcase must be put above.'

The agent of the event either remains silent, or is expressed through an agentive phrase headed by the preposition *da*, like in Italian. With deontic passives (78), however, the agent is never expressed.

8.3.2 *Constructions with se*

In Italian, there are at least two types of *se*-construction (besides the reflexive *se*): the "passive" *se* and the impersonal *se* (see e.g. Cinque 1988, D'Alessandro 2007). The main difference between the two is that in the "passive" *se*, the

direct object becomes the syntactic subject of the predicate, as in ordinary passive constructions, and thus triggers verbal agreement. When the impersonal *se* is used, on the other hand, the direct object does not change its role, and the subject is intended either as generic or indefinite (see § 4.3). The verb then always has default 3rd person singular features (see Salvi & Vanelli 2004: 72 ff.).

In CT it is difficult to disentangle these two types: first of all, subject and object clitics are homophonous.¹⁷ Moreover, we cannot resort to verb agreement: in CT the *se* construction is used almost exclusively in the present or imperfect tense, the contexts in which there is no morphological difference between 3rd person singular and 3rd person plural.¹⁸ Thus, a sentence like (79) is ambiguous between an impersonal and a passive reading:

- (79) *Da Nadàl se magna el zèlten.*
 from Christmas *se* eats the zelten
 'During the Christmas holidays we eat the zelten [typical Trentino cake].'

In CT, postverbal subjects do not require clitic doubling (§ 8.1), and the same holds for all direct objects unless they are dislocated. Therefore, we cannot tell whether (79) is an instance of impersonal or passive *se*.

However, things become clearer if we take preverbal arguments, which require a clitic pronoun. Although subject and object clitics have the same mor-

17 The only case in which the subject and the object clitic differ is the 3rd person masculine singular (§ 4.1). However, the difference is neutralized when the word preceding the clitic ends with a vowel: in this case, both the object clitic *lo* and the subject clitic *el* become *l*. This is exactly what happens in *se* constructions, where the *se* precedes the other clitics.

18 Recall that in analytic tenses the difference between 3rd person singular and 3rd person plural is visible on the past participle (inflected for gender and number), provided that the verb takes *èsser* as auxiliary (§ 7.1).

Se constructions are sometimes used with the *passato prossimo* tense in sayings or proverbs. Curiously, in these cases it only seems possible to use them when the verb takes the auxiliary *avér*, and not with *èsser* (Cordin 2009: 80). The differing judgements could be related to the fact that in (i) the past participle has the default masculine singular ending, while (ii) requires a plural participle:

(i) *Quando che se a finì i mistéri, se pòl polsàr.*
 when that *se* has finished the chores, *se* can rest
 'When you've finished the chores, you can have a rest.'
 (ii) *??Dopo che se è nadi en vacanza, se sta mèio.* (Cordin 2009: 80)
 after that *se* is gone in holidays, *se* stays better
 'After having been on holidays, you feel better.'

phology, syntax helps us to distinguish them, because object clitics follow the *se*, while subject clitics should precede it:¹⁹

- (80) a. *Le castagne se le magna col vin calt.*
 the chestnuts *se* them.CL eats with-the wine warm
 ‘Chestnuts are eaten with warm wine.’
- b. **Le castagne (le) se magna col vin calt.*
 the chestnuts they.CL *se* eats with-the wine warm
- c. (Talking about mushroom) **I se magna con la polenta.*
 they.CL *se* eats with the polenta

The NP *le castagne* in (80a) is thus a left-dislocated object, and not a subject: it is resumed by the object clitic (identifiable as such because it is lower than the *se*). In (80b), instead, it is the subject of the sentence—in this case it is ruled out, independently of the presence or absence of the subject clitic (which is higher than the *se*). Finally, (80c) is ruled out because CT never allows null objects—if the sentence could be interpreted as passive *se*, it would be fine.

In addition, the preference for the impersonal *se* is witnessed by a translation task: when we asked speakers of CT to translate Italian sentences, we noticed that the *se*-construction was mainly used when the Italian stimulus contains an impersonal *se*; on the other hand, speakers prefer to translate the Italian passive *se* with an active sentence or with a generic third plural (see §§ 8.3.3 and 4.3). This asymmetry between the passive and the impersonal *se* is unexpected, because the generalisation proposed in the literature states that the impersonal *se* is allowed in a variety only if the passive *se* is also allowed (Cinque 1988, Roberts 2010).²⁰

In all cases, the *se* construction is an alternative way of demoting the agent of the verb, which is always silent in these constructions: unlike in “true” passive constructions, it cannot be recovered through an agentive phrase (cf. (81a)–(81b)):

19 Examples (80a)–(80b) are adapted from Zubizarreta 1982: 150 (attributed to P. Cordin p.c.), see also § 4.3.

20 This asymmetry is also present in Venetan (although to a different extent): according to Pescarini (2018), in Venetan it is due to an incompatibility between a subject clitic and the passive/impersonal *se*.

(81) a. *A Martignàn, el dialèt el vèn ancóra parlà (da tuti*
 in Martignano, the dialect it.CL comes still spoken (by all
i veciòti).
 the elders)

b. *A Martignàn, el dialèt se 'l parla ancóra (*da tuti i*
 in Martignano, the dialect se it.CL speaks still (*by all the
veciòti).
 elders)
 'In Martignano, the dialect is still spoken by all the elderly people.'

The impersonal *se* is compatible with all verb types, even intransitives, which are incompatible with all passive constructions. Impersonal constructions can be divided into two categories: the first has a generic (82), the second an indefinite, interpretation (83):

(82) *A Santa Lucia se va ala féra.*
 at Saint Lucy se goes to-the fair
 'On St. Lucy's day we go to the fair.'

(83) *Ancòi se va ala féra a pè.*
 today se goes to-the fair on foot
 'Today we have to go to the fair on foot.'

In (82) the sentence refers to a general behaviour during a particular feast which is celebrated each year. The sentence in (83), in contrast, refers to a particular, single event, yielding an indefinite interpretation.

8.3.3 Generic Plurals

The most frequent construction used to demote the semantic subject has a generic third person plural subject. Strictly speaking, this does not change the valency of the verb; the difference is that the subject is only grammatically present, as a null subject with 3rd person plural masculine value (as shown by the presence of the subject clitic *i*), without any semantic value (84):

(84) a. *El sindaco, i l' a portà*
 the mayor they.CL him.CL have brought
via.
 away
 (Fornace; Vinko, 143.7)

- b. *I a metù en prisón el sindaco.* (Trento; Vinko 213.7)
 they.CL have put in jail the mayor
 ‘The mayor has been arrested.’

The examples in (84) come from the crowdsourcing platform Vinko: the participants were asked to translate the Italian passive sentence *È stato arrestato il sindaco* into their dialect, and spontaneously chose a generic plural. Note that without a context a sentence like (84) is ambiguous: its value might be referential, where it is referred to a specific group of people already present in the discourse, or generic. The two alternative readings differ in the identification of the subject: in generic plurals, the “real” agent may be a single individual or a group: in examples like (84), the use of the 3rd person plural does not imply that the mayor be arrested by a number of people—on the contrary, it is perfectly possible that a single policeman arrested him. An important remark is that generic plurals are only possible with the masculine subject clitic *i*, but not with the feminine subject clitic *le* or with a free pronoun (*lori/lóre* ‘they’; see § 4.1–2): if one of these pronouns is used, the subject is referential.

Generic plurals are used not only as alternatives to passive constructions, but also whenever the speaker does not want or is unable to make the subject explicit. The construction is therefore possible with all verb types, and is not restricted to transitive verbs (85).

- (85) *Ancòi i m' a telefonà dal Comùn per*
 today they.CL me.CL have called from-the municipality for
dirme che gò da portarghe na carta che
 tell-me.CL that I.have to bring-them.DAT.CL a paper that
ghe sèrve.
 them.DAT.CL is-necessary
 ‘Today someone from the municipality called me to tell me that I have to bring him a document that they need.’

Main and Embedded Clauses

This chapter discusses the structure of CT clauses. Section 9.1 discusses the syntactic properties of main clauses. Various types of main clause have been presented and discussed in previous chapters (especially those that concern declarative and interrogative clauses); here we offer a recap in form of a general overview, adding additional information on some particular types of main clause that have not been illustrated before (e.g., special questions or optative clauses) to complete the picture. Sections 9.2–9.4 deal with subordinate clauses, which may play different syntactic roles in a sentence. Firstly, they can be an argument of the main (or ‘matrix’) verb, namely its subject or direct object (§ 9.2). In such cases, when declarative, they are introduced by the complementiser *che* (‘that’); in many cases, when the subject of the subordinate clause is coreferent with the subject or object of the main verb, a subjectless infinitive is used, introduced by the preposition *a* (‘at’) or *de* (‘of’). Infinitival constructions of this type are “control constructions”: the identification of the embedded subject depends on an argument of the main clause. Indirect questions are also argument subordinate clauses, and are generally the direct object of the main verb. They are introduced either by the complementiser *whether* or by *wh*-words (e.g. *when*, *why*, *how*). Unlike Italian or English, in CT the *wh*-words in indirect questions are often followed by the complementiser *che*.

Subordinate clauses may also be adverbial. In this case, they are not obligatory (i.e., they are not arguments), but they add optional information regarding time, manner, cause, etc. (§ 9.3). Adverbial subordinate clauses are introduced by a subordinate conjunction that specifies the kind of information they are giving (e.g. *because* or *since* for a cause, *if* for a condition). Like in argumental subordinate clauses, when the subject of the adverbial clause is coreferent with an element (usually the subject or agent) of the main clause, it is possible to use a non-finite verb form, which is often headed by a preposition. Both argumental and adverbial subordinate clauses are defined as ‘explicit’ if they are introduced by a complementiser or conjunction and have an inflected verb form, ‘implicit’ if they are formed with a non-finite verb form and no explicit introducing element (or a prepositional complementiser).

In § 9.4, we group together three types of clause—relative, pseudo-relative and clefted—introduced by the complementiser *che*, and apparently alike, but which, in fact, play different roles in the structure of the matrix clause. Rel-

ative clauses may be restrictive (i.e. they contribute to the identification of a referential element of the main clause), or non-restrictive (and then they are appositive). In both cases they act as attributes, i.e., nominal modifiers. Unlike Italian or English, CT does not have specific relative pronouns, the generic complementiser *che* is always used. In some cases, the syntactic role of the antecedent (the nominal element of the main clause that the relative clause refers to) is specified by clitic elements located in the relative clause (§9.4.1). Pseudo-relative clauses also refer to a nominal element of the main clause. However, they do not act as attributes, but as secondary predicates. This means that they add a second predication, which has as its subject an element of the main clause. Although they look like ‘ordinary’ relative clauses, certain syntactic properties and restrictions distinguish them from relative clauses (§9.4.2).

A last type of *che*-clause is found in cleft sentences, which are used to focalise one constituent of a clause. This constituent is isolated from the rest of the sentence in being introduced by the copula *èsser* (‘be’), while the rest of the sentence is expressed through a clause introduced by the complementiser *che*. In CT, this construction is quite widespread in declarative contexts, and even more so in interrogative contexts, where *wh*-questions formulated using a cleft sentence are increasingly becoming the unmarked form of partial interrogative clauses (section 9.4.3).

The last section (§9.5) offers an overview of the rules governing the use of the subjunctive mood in embedded clauses: we first discuss the contexts of use, and then the choice of the verbal tense in subjunctive clauses (so-called *consecutio temporum*).

A final remark on the frequency with which subordinate constructions are used: in CT, as in all spoken languages, speakers tend to avoid overly complex constructions and to use parataxis (or *che* clauses). This tendency affects both infinitival subordinate clauses, which are often dispreferred in favour of explicit subordinate clauses, and relative clauses headed by an adverbial element that needs to be introduced by a preposition (English *of/on/with whom*, for instance). A second tendency typical of CT, like other Northern Italian varieties, is to mark most types of subordinate clause with the complementiser *che*, even in cases in which the subordination clearly results from the context and in which the *che* is excluded in standard Romance languages (e.g. in embedded interrogative clauses).

9.1 The Syntax of Main Clauses

This section provides an overview of the different types of main clause and their syntactic properties in CT. We distinguish five types, already mentioned in the previous chapters: declarative, interrogative, exclamative, imperative and optative.

9.1.1 Declarative Clauses

In declarative clauses, the unmarked word order is SVO, as in all Romance languages. However, with unaccusative verbs the order SV is marked: the unmarked order is VS. VS is not restricted by the Definiteness Effect (like Italian and unlike French or English, see §§ 4.2 and 8.1). While the verb forms used in main clauses are usually indicative, they can sometimes be in the conditional, see § 7.1. CT allows various mechanisms of constituent fronting. Topics can be left or right dislocated, and they usually require clitic resumption:

- (1) *Na gramàtica del trentin, no l' avévo mai trovada.*
 a grammar of-the Trentino not him.CL I.had never found
 'I had never found a grammar of Trentino before.'
- (2) *L' ò za tòlt mi, el pan.*
 him.CL I.have already taken I the bread
 'I have already bought the bread.'

Foci tend to be realised in situ and with special intonation. New information foci are always realised *in situ* (3b), while contrastive foci may be fronted (3c), but this results in a more marked effect:

- (3) a. *Còssa t' ala portà la Berta?*
 what you.DAT.CL has=she.CL brought the Berta
 'What did Berta bring you?'
- b. *La m' a portà EN LIBRO.*
 she.CL me.DAT.CL has brought a book
 'She brought me A BOOK.'
- c. *EL MARIO ò vist, nò el Toni.*
 the Mario I.have seen not the Toni
 'I have seen MARIO, not Toni.'

Three modal particles—*miga*, *bèn* and *tòi*—are used in CT declarative clauses to convey the point of view of the speaker. *Miga* and *bèn* are also used as adverbs (see § 6.4), and *tòi* can be used in declarative clauses to express the speaker's surprise (see § 10.2 on these three particles).

9.1.2 *Interrogative Clauses*

CT interrogatives are characterised by the so-called “residual Verb-second” rule (see Rizzi 1996), according to which the verb has to come directly after the *wh*-element in partial questions and be placed in first sentence position in yes/no questions. Subject clitic pronouns therefore usually occur in postverbal position (§ 4.2): the other clitics (including the negation) are the only elements that precede the verb (§ 4.9).¹

In some cases, CT interrogatives contain a modal or sentential particle (see § 10.3), which has a pragmatic function, usually related to the speaker's point of view. These particles are *pò*, *mò* and *tòi*. *Pò* is used in questions that refer to a topic already mentioned in the discourse, which the speakers had left suspended; as a further evolution of this use, it also expresses surprise. *Mò* and *tòi*, on the other hand, are only used in “special” questions.

“Special” questions are echo and rhetorical questions, and questions seeking confirmation (Fava 1995). In echo questions and those requiring confirmation the syntax is usually declarative rather than interrogative, but a special intonation is used. Their syntax is therefore SVO, with the subject clitic preceding the verb, unlike in an interrogative:

- (4) a. *Algéri ò fat na bala.*
yesterday I.have done a ball
'Yesterday I got drunk.'

- b. *T' ai fat COSSA?*
you.CL have done what
'You got WHAT?'

- (5) *Alora i ve chiama Franzele? E*
so they.CL you.PL.CL call Franzele and
dopo? (Nando da G., 173)
then
'So they call you Franzele? And then?'

¹ Other constituents may precede the verb, but only if they are left-dislocated.

Example (4) is an echo question: the first speaker is recounting something that happened the day before, and the hearer replies using exactly the same order (changing the subject from 1st to 2nd person) and using a *wh*-pronoun for the constituent that has struck her/him, namely the drunkenness. In (5), a policeman had asked the protagonist of the play what his name and surname is, but the latter has only given his first name. So, the first question just requires confirmation, but the second is a true question.

In rhetorical questions, the speaker already knows the answer: the question is merely a stylistic device. Unlike echo questions and questions requiring confirmation, rhetorical questions can have the subject clitic proclitic or enclitic to the verb. The question may be polar (6a), or introduced by a *wh*-item (6b). The implicit answer may be negative ('no, nobody, etc.'), as in (6), or positive ('yes, everyone, etc.'), as in (7). Rhetorical questions are characterized by a special intonation and may also be marked as such through particles or adverbs (8), through the use of the conditional or future tense (9a)–(9b), or by using the verb *volér* (9c).

- (6) a. *Sét mat (o che)?* [intended answer: no]
 are=you.CL mad or what
 'Are you mad or what?'
 b. *Chi no magnaria volintéra el tortèl de la*
 who not would.eat with.pleasure the *tortèl* of the
 Nina? [intended answer: nobody]
 Nina
 'Who wouldn't eat Nina's *tortèl*?'
 (7) *No sét el fiòl de la Lina ti?* [intended answer: yes, I am]
 not are=you.CL the son of the Lina you
 'Aren't you Lina's son?'
 (8) *Te séi bèn na dala Maria ancòi?* [intended answer: yes]
 you.CL are *bèn* gone to-the Maria today
 'You did go to Maria today, didn't you?'
 (9) a. *No te narài miga fòra senza*
 not you.CL will.go *miga* out without
 gabàn? [intended answer: no]
 coat
 'You won't go out without coat, will you?'

- b. *Chi naria fōra sènza gabàn,*
 who would.go out without coat
ancòì? [intended answer: nobody]
 today
 ‘Who wouldn’t go out without coat, today?’
- c. *No te vorài nar fōra sènza*
 not you.CL will.want go out without
gabàn? [intended answer: no]
 coat
 ‘You won’t go out without coat, will you?’

9.1.3 Exclamative Clauses

CT has different types of exclamative clauses:²

1. Sentences with the declarative SVO order, only distinguished from declarative clauses by the exclamative intonation. In some cases, an indefinite object is used, when the exclamative sentence expresses intense feelings or emotions (see § 3.1.2).
2. Exclamatives introduced by an expletive negation. The negation has no concrete value and does not negate the verb. When introduced by a negation, the subject clitic is enclitic to the verb, like in interrogative clauses (§ 9.1.2):³

(10) *No rivè!*
 not comes=he.CL
 ‘He’s coming!’

3. Sentences introduced by a *wh*-element. Their focus is on a constituent, which is either an adjectival or nominal phrase (§ 3.5.2). When a predicate is highlighted, an alternative construction may be used, introduced by the *wh*-item *come* (‘how’):

(11) *Come son content!* (Nando da G., 170)
 how I.am happy
 ‘How happy I am!’

² Here we adopt a broad interpretation of the term ‘exclamative’. In some studies, it is restricted to types 2 and 3 of our list.

³ See Zanuttini & Portner (2000) for the same phenomenon in the dialect of Padua.

In this case the adjective remains in its usual position in the sentence.

4. Exclamatives can also involve a scalar predicate, focusing on the latter's intensity. They are introduced by *quant* followed by a complementiser:

(12) *Quant che t' ò zercà!*
 how.much that you.OBJ.CL I.have sought
 'I have looked for you so much!'

(13) *Chisà quant che l'è che i gira da n' osteria a l'altra!*
 who.knows how.much that it-is that they.CL go.around from a
 tavern to the-other (Sartori, 2005)
 'Who knows how long they have been going around from one tavern to the other!'

Note that *quant che* may be followed by a clefted sentence, as in (13).

5. If the focus is on an adjective, the latter may be fronted without any *wh*-element, followed by the preposition *de* + NP (§ 3.1.2).
6. Exclamatives focusing on a quantity are introduced by an existential followed by the clitic *ne*:

(14) *E ghe n'è [sc. de d'òne] che me sta drio!*
 and there.CL of.it.CL-are of women that me.CL stay
 behind (De Gentilotti, 140)
 'There are many women that would like to catch me!'

Note that the quantity is usually not expressed; the context indicates that a large amount is intended.

7. Exclamatives that focus on an action are introduced by a full subject (not a subject clitic) followed by an infinitive:

(15) *E ti tàser come te gavessi la colpa ti...*
 and you be.quiet as.if you.CL had the fault
 you (Nando da G., 175)
 'And you don't say a word, as if it were your fault!'

9.1.4 Imperative Clauses

In imperative clauses the verb is in the imperative mood, and it occupies the first sentence position. All elements, including clitic pronouns, follow it (see § 4.9). Verbs in the imperative cannot have a subject clitic. The polite form of the imperative is either the second person plural, or the subjunctive in the third person (see § 4.10). The imperative can also refer to the first person plural. In this case, the present indicative is used:

- (16) *Magnàn!* (Segonzano, ALD-II 490)
 we.eat
 'Let's eat!'

Imperatives can be reinforced in different ways: either by the use of the verb *vardàr* ('look, watch') in the imperative,⁴ or by the modal particles *mò* and *vè*. *Mò* has an aspectual value and is related to the speaker's expectation that their order be carried out immediately ('right now'). *Vè*, on the other hand, has a reinforcing value (see Section 10.3):

- (17) *Var(d)a de far i còmpti!*
 watch of do.INF the homework
 'Do your homework!'
- (18) *Va a far i còmpti, mò!*
 go to do the homework *mò*
 'Go do your homework, now!'
- (19) *Vèi chì vè!*
 come here *vè*
 'Come here!/Don't dare not coming here!'

The prohibitive (i.e., the negative form of the imperative) can be formed in two ways: one corresponds to the Italian pattern, with '*no* + infinitive' in the singular and '*no* + imperative' in the plural (20). The second is common to CT and Venetan, from which it probably originated (see §§ 5.3, 8.2.2, 10.3): it is formed with the imperative form of the verb *star*, preceded by the negation and followed by the verb that expresses the action that the speaker wants to prohibit. Note that

4 The imperative *var(d)a!* (or *Var(d)a sai!*) is also used in generic commands in which the speaker wants to order the addressee not to do (or to stop doing) something, especially when talking to children. The meaning is thus 'Watch out!', or 'Don't you dare!'

nowadays the verb *star* is usually directly followed by the infinitive (21a), as in Venetan, although until a few decades ago the infinitive was usually introduced by the preposition *a* (21b), see the discussion in § 5.3. The two types of prohibitive co-occur rather freely, as the examples (20a) and (21a), given for the same stimulus, show. Finally, the prohibitive can also be intensified by the imperative form of *vardàr*, followed by a negated infinitive (22):

- (20) a. *No dirghe na paròla!* (Segonzano, ALD-II 226)
 not say.INF=him.DAT.CL a word
 'Don't tell him a word!'

- b. *No disé na paròla!*
 not say.IMP.PL a word
 'Don't say a word!'

- (21) a. *No sta dirghe na paròla!* (Trento, ALD-II 226)
 not stay.IMP tell.INF=him.DAT.CL a word
 'Don't tell him a word!'

- b. *No sta a zigàr, stupido, che en te sti tempi i già*
 not stay.IMP to shout stupid that in these times they.CL have
recia anca i muri. (Sartori, 205)
 ear also the walls
 'Don't shout! In these times even the walls have ears.'

- (22) *Vara de no dir na paròla!*
 watch of not say.INF a word
 'Don't dare saying a word!'

The modal particle *vè* can also occur in the prohibitive; *mò*, on the other hand, is excluded:

- (23) *No sta a dir ste ròbe vè / *mò!*
 not stay.IMP to say these things *vè mò*
 'You shouldn't say these things!'

9.1.5 Optative and Exhortative Clauses

Optatives and exhortatives both express the speaker's wish; optatives may be either factual or counterfactual (i.e., refer to a realisable or unrealisable wish). When factual, they usually refer to the present or future; when counterfac-

tual, to the past or present. Exhortatives also refer to the present or future, but the emphasis is more on encouragement than on the mere expression of the speaker's wish. The subjunctive is used in all of the above clauses, although the indicative can also be used for the exhortative; in which case the sentence becomes more strongly imperative (for the presence of *-te* in (25a) and (26), see also §10.4):

- (24) a. *Che no gàbia da pagàr la multa!*
 that not I.have.SBJV from pay the fine
 'May I not have to pay the fine!'
- b. *Che no l àbia lassà la màchina endó che no se pòl!*
 that not he.CL has.SBJV left the car where that not se can
 'May he not have parked where it is forbidden!'
- c. *I taséssa, na vòlta tanto!*
 they.CL were.quiet.SBJV a time only
 'If they only were quiet, once in a while!'
- d. *I avéssa tasù!* (Sicina, ALD-II 307)
 they.CL had.SBJV be.quiet
 'Had they been quiet!'
- (25) a. *Pregante!* (Vezzano, ALD-II 364)
 we.pray.SBJV
- b. *Pregàn!* (Civezzano, ALD-II 364)
 we.pray.IND
 'Let's pray!'
- (26) a. *Sperente che anca quele repeghe su alt le se destriga* (Sartori, 202)
 we.hope.SBJV that also those slow.people above high they.CL se
 hurry.up
 'Let's hope that those slow people over there also hurry up!'
- b. *Riepiloghente la situazione.* (Sartori, 206)
 we.recapitulate.SBJV the situation
 'Let's take stock of the situation!'

Factual (24a)–(24b) and counterfactual optatives (24c)–(24d) differ syntactically in two respects. Factual optatives have either the present or perfect subjunctive, with the first referring to a present or future event, and the second to the past. In counterfactual optatives, on the other hand, the verb is either in the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive; the imperfect refers to the present (i.e., to an event that is taking place while the speaker is uttering the optative sentence), the pluperfect to the past. Unlike with factual optatives, however, the speaker does know whether or not the event referred to has taken place. The second difference regards how the two types of optatives are introduced: factual optatives must be introduced by the complementiser *che* (24a)–(24b). Counterfactual optatives, on the other hand, do not need an introducing element (24c)–(24d), although one may indeed be present: either the complementiser *se* ('if')—but crucially not *che*—, or a desiderative adverb such as *magari* (untranslatable in English): cf. (27) with (24c)–(24d) (given as answers to the same stimulus).

(27) a. *Se i avés tasù!* (Mezzocorona, ALD-II 307)
if they.CL had.SBJV been.quiet

b. *Magari i avéssa tasèst!* (Cembra, ALD-II 307)
magari they.CL had.SBJV been.quiet
'If only they had been quiet!'

9.2 Argumental Subordinate Clauses

9.2.1 *Explicit Argumental Clauses*

Some subordinate clauses can be the subject or the object of the main verb. When they are declarative, the complementiser *che* is used. Regardless of their syntactic roles, argumental clauses usually follow the main clause and hardly ever precede it. When the subordinate clause is the subject of the main sentence and is in a postverbal position (28)–(30), the main verb is not usually introduced by a subject clitic, unless it is an auxiliary clitic, when the auxiliary begins with a vowel (30); see § 4.2:⁵

5 The informants of San Michele and Mezzocorona were the only ones to use a subject clitic with the main verb of (28).

- (28) *Pòl darse / èsser che l sia*
 it.can give=se be that he.CL is.SBJV
òrbo. (Trento 2, ALD-II 92–93)
 blind
 ‘It’s possible that he’s blind.’

- (29) *Sarìa mèio che i veciòti i bevèssa de*
 it.would.be better that the elders they.CL drink of
pu. (adapted from ALD-II 545–546)
 more
 ‘It would be better that elderly people drink more.’

- (30) *Lè véra che són strach, però staséra vago fòra l’istés.*
 it.CL-is true that I’am tired but this.evening I.go out the-same
 ‘It’s true that I’m tired, but this evening I’ll go out anyway.’

Note that the embedded verb in subject subordinate clauses can be in the subjunctive (28)–(29) or indicative (30) mood, depending on the main predicate (cf. § 9.5 for subjunctive selection). In embedded object clauses, the verbal mood is also determined by the main predicate (indicative (31) or subjunctive (32)–(33)):

- (31) *La Maria l’ a dit ala Paola che l’ a vist el*
 the Maria she.CL has said to-the Paola that she.CL has seen the
Mario.
 Mario
 ‘Maria told Paola that she saw Mario.’

- (32) [...] *credéva ch’el me strangolàs.* (Viarago, AIS 1672)
 I.thought that-he.CL me.CL choke.SBJV
 ‘... that I thought that he would choke me.’

- (33) *Voléo che vàiga mi?* (Faver, AIS 1638)
 you.want=you.CL that I.go.SBJV I
 ‘Do you want me to go?’

Embedded (or indirect) questions constitute a special type of argumental clause, usually selected by the matrix verb. Verbs which typically select an embedded question are *domandàr*, *savér*, *dir*, *vardàr* (34)–(36), among others. The complementiser introducing yes-no questions is *se* (‘whether’), like in

Italian. Partial questions, on the other hand, are introduced by *wh*-pronouns, which can be followed by the complementiser *che*. The sequence “*wh* + complementiser” is found in several diatopically or diaphasically marked varieties, including CT, many Northern Italian dialects, Ladin, but also German dialects and Spanish and French substandard varieties—the standard languages do not admit it.⁶ These varieties differ with regard to the *wh*-elements that require the presence of the complementiser: in CT, the latter can be used with any *wh*-element except *parché/perché*,⁷ which is incompatible with a complementiser (36), see Cordin et al. (2018). However, this is not a semantic restriction on causal conjunctions, because the older form, *par còssa*, is usually followed by a complementiser, cf. (36a) and (36b).⁸

(34) a. *No sò ancóra chi che vèn ala fèsta.*

not I.know yet who that comes to-the party
‘I don’t know yet who’s coming to the party.’

b. *Diséghe chi che avé*

you.tell.IMP.PL=him.DAT.CL who that you.have.PL

spaventà.

(Trento, ALD-2 229–230)

scared

‘Tell him who you have scared.’

c. *No sò còssa che te ai fat da magnàr.*

not I.know what that you.CL have done to eat

‘I don’t know what you prepared to eat.’

d. *No sò ancóra endó che narò en vacanza.*

not I.know yet where that I.will.go in holidays

‘I don’t know yet where I’ll go on holidays.’

6 The co-occurrence of a *wh*-element and a complementiser is an example of how important it is to study non-standard varieties, because it contradicts the so-called “doubly filled COMP filter”, a rule proposed in the early decades of generative grammar (Chomsky & Lasnik 1977) as a Principle of Universal Grammar, and based mainly on English and other European standard languages.

7 The *wh*-element *ndó/dóve* (‘where’) is also followed by a complementiser when it is used in relative clauses, cf. section 9.3.1.

8 Cf. section 9.3.3 for a different behaviour of *perché* and *par còssa* in clefts.

- (35) a. *No sò còme che farò a finìr per tèmp.*
 not I.know how that I.will.do to finish for time
 'I don't know how I'll be able to finish in time.'
- b. *No g'ò mai domandà quanti ani che l*
 not him.DAT.CL-I.have never asked how.many years that he.CL
ga. (Cordin et al. 2018)
 has
 'I've never asked him how old he is.'
- c. *Me domando quan che finirà sta stòria.*
 me.CL I.ask when that will.finish this story
 'I wonder when this story will finish.'
- (36) a. *Dime perché la lezzión l'è scominziada tardi.*
 tell.IMP=me.CL why the lesson she.CL-is begun late
- b. *Dime par còssa che la lezzión l'è scominziada*
 tell.IMP=me.CL for what that the lesson she.CL-is begun
tardi.
 late
 'Tell me why the class began late.'

As can be seen in the examples, the complementiser can show up in all embedded wh-questions, except with *perché*. This distinguishes CT dialects from other varieties spoken in the region, such as Noneso and Ladin, where speakers agree in mandatorily requiring the complementiser in all embedded questions, including when the wh-element is the causal *parché/perché*. On the other hand, Southern Trentino dialects seem to share this instability with CT: in Brentonico, only the older generation uses complementisers in indirect questions.⁹ However, this feature is not necessarily "older" than the one without a complementiser: if we look for it in the dialectal versions of a novel by Boccaccio collected by Papanti (1875), for example, we find that at the end of the XIX century the complementiser *che* was only used with the wh-pronoun *how* in Borgo Valsugana, Rovereto, and Tuenno, but not in Trento or other CT localities. Outside the province of Trento, it was used mainly in the North-Eastern Alpine localities where Ladin, Venetan and Friulian varieties are spoken, but

⁹ Result of the ATHEME fieldwork in 2014 (www.atheme.eu).

never in the cities or the Lombard provinces of Sondrio and Brescia.¹⁰ In other words, the use of this feature by some CT speakers is not a sign that they are more conservative; rather, it originated as a rural and diatopically marked feature that has now spread to (some speakers in) Trento and the main centres of the province, but has probably never been obligatory in CT (for an overview on the use of a complementiser in the whole Trentino area, see Cordin et al. 2018).

9.2.2 *Implicit Argumental Clauses*

Implicit argumental clauses are formed with infinitives. Their use is linked to the so-called “subject obviation” effect: when a specific argument (usually the subject) of the matrix clause and that of the embedded clause correspond, an infinitival clause is used instead of an explicit subordinate clause. These clauses are usually called “control clauses”, because their subject is “controlled”, i.e. is coindexed with, the matrix subject (37):

- (37) a. *La Maria_i la m'a contà de PRO_i gavér mal ala*
 the Maria she.CL me.CL-has told of have pain to-the
spala.
 shoulder
 ‘Marys told me that her shoulder hurts.’
- b. *Me fiòl_i el vòl PRO_i comprarse na móto.*
 my son he.CL wants buy-se a motorbike
 ‘My son wants to buy a motorbike.’

In a second type of control clause, the subject of the infinitive is controlled by the indirect or direct object of the main clause (“object control clauses”, (38)–(39)):

- (38) *El dotór l'a ordenà al Marco_i de PRO_i far na dièta.*
 the doctor he.CL-has ordered to-the Marco of do a diet
 ‘The doctor ordered Marco to go on a diet.’
- (39) *Ò pregà el Mario_i de PRO_i darne na man.*
 I.have asked the Mario of give=me a hand
 ‘I asked Mario to help me.’

¹⁰ In Papanti (1875), we see that this feature was already present in the Northern part of Istria and Friulian in the XVI century, but not in Padua or in the Lombard cities considered by Salviati. Unfortunately, Salviati's collection does not contain a version from Trentino.

The choice of the type of control (subject or object) depends on the main verb: verbs like *contà* or *volér*, for example, trigger subject control (37). Verbs like *ordenà* and *pregà*, on the other hand, trigger object control (38)–(39). In general, the subject or object control verbs are the same as in the other Romance varieties: *sognà* and *pensà*, for example, are subject control verbs (40), *pregà* and *piàser* are object control verbs (41).¹¹ Modal and aspectual verbs (42) are typical subject control verbs:

- (40) a. *Da picenina, la Paola_i la sognava de PRO_i diventà*
 as little.child, the Paola she.CL dreamed of become
maèstra.
 teacher
 ‘When she was a child, Paola dreamed of becoming teacher.’
- b. *I_i pénsa de PRO_i èsser furbi.*
 they.CL think of be smart
 ‘They think they are smart.’
- (41) a. *El Mario el l’_ia pregà de PRO_i compagnarlo a*
 the Mario he.CL him.CL-has asked of accompany=him.CL to
l’ospedàl.
 the hospital
 ‘Mario asked him to go with him to the hospital.’
- b. *Ai me pòpi_i ghe pias PRO_i nar sule*
 to-the my children them.DAT.CL likes go on-the
giòstre.
 merry.go.round
 ‘My children like riding the merry-go-round.’
- (42) a. *Domàn no pòdo PRO nar en montagna.*
 tomorrow not I.can go in mountain
 ‘Tomorrow I can’t go to the mountain.’
- b. *I_i scomènsa a PRO_i fiorìr.* (Faver, AIS 1261–1262)
 they.CL begin to bloom
 ‘They are beginning to bloom.’

11 The verb *piàser* has a special status because it takes the infinitival verb as its subject.

There are two differences between (40)–(41) and (42): verbs of the first group can take both finite and infinitival embedded clauses, while verbs of the second group only take infinitives. Furthermore, the infinitival complement is always introduced by the prepositional complementiser *de* in the first group (except when the infinitive is the subject of the main verb, (41b)); the introducing element varies in the second group: it is not present at all with modal verbs (42a), it is *de* or *a* with aspectual verbs (42b) (for modal and causative verbs, see § 8.2.2).

The use of an infinitive instead of a fully-inflected verb also occurs in embedded questions; in these cases, the main verb can trigger subject control (43) or object control (44):

- (43) *El Mario_i no l savéva se PRO_i créderghe al Luca.*
 the Mario not he.CL knew if trust=him.DAT.CL to-the Luca
 ‘Mario wasn’t sure if he should trust Luca.’

- (44) *El Paolo el m_i’a dit ndó PRO_i nar a crompàr el*
 the Paolo he.CL me.CL-has said where go to buy the
mél de la Val dei Laghi.
 honey of the Valle dei Laghi
 ‘Paolo told me where I can go to buy the honey of the Valle dei Laghi.’

Note that “subject obviation” is not obligatory in all cases: in some contexts, speakers prefer to use an explicit declarative clause even if its subject is coreferent with the matrix subject (cf. (45) with (37)). Moreover, an explicit clause is used when the speaker wants to stress that the event of the embedded clause occurred (or is occurring) after the event expressed by the main verb; in this case the verb has future tense or conditional mood (46):

- (45) *La Maria la m’a contà che la ga mal ala*
 the Maria she.CL me.CL-has told that she.CL has pain at-the
spala.
 shoulder
 ‘Maria told me that her shoulder hurts.’

- (46) a. *Pénset de nar a Roma la setimana che vèn?*
 you.think=you.CL of go to Rome the week that comes
 ‘Do you think that you will go to Rome next week?’

- b. *Pénset* *che te naràì a Roma la settimana che*
you.think=you.CL that you.CL will.go to Rome the week that
vèn?
comes
'Do you think that you will go to Rome next week?'
- c. *Pensévet* *che no te saréssi pu nada a*
you.thought=you.CL that not you.CL would.be anymore gone to
Roma?
Rome
'Did you think that you would never go to Rome again?'

Finally, Romance languages usually have a further type of embedded infinitival clause, which shows up with pseudo-copular verbs like *seem* (*parér* in CT). However, this construction is ungrammatical in CT, cf. the Italian with the CT version in (47):

- (47) a. *Matteo sembra studiare.* (Italian)
 Matteo seems study
 'Matteo seems to study.'
- b. **El Mateo (el) par studiàr.* (CT)
 the Mateo he.CL seems study

The ASIt database shows that CT shares this ungrammaticality with the neighbouring Lombard and Venetan varieties. The verb *parér* is always used as impersonal verb in CT: it is only compatible with a fully-inflected *che*-clause, and the subject of the embedded clause does not move to the main clause:

- (48) *Par che la Teresa la sia nada a Bórgo.*
seems that the Teresa she.CL is.SBJV gone to Borgo
'It seems that Teresa has gone to Borgo Valsugana.'

The subject can precede *parér* only as left-dislocated topic (49), divided by the rest of the sentence by an intonational break:

- (49) a. *El Matteo, par ch' el studia.*
the Matteo seems that he.CL studies.SBJV
'Matteo seems to study.'

- b. *La Teresa, par che la sia nada a Borgo.*
 the Teresa seems that she.CL is.SBJV gone to Borgo
 'It seems that Teresa has gone to Borgo Valsugana.'

9.3 Adverbial Subordinate Clauses

9.3.1 Adverbial Embedded Clauses with an Inflected Verb

Adverbial clauses are used to add information that is not mandatorily required by the verb, and may be temporal, causal, conditional, concessive, final, consecutive or comparative. When they are explicit, each of them is introduced by a complementiser or by an adverb followed by the complementiser *che*, as shown in Table 46. The various types of embedded clause differ in the mood used (see § 9.5 for an overview of the use of the subjunctive).¹²

Temporal clauses: they locate the main event in time, with respect to another event. The event in the temporal clause may be anterior (*dòpo che* (50a)), simultaneous (*intàn che, quan (che)* (50b)) or posterior (*prima che* (50c)–(50d)) to the main event. In the latter case, the verb is in the subjunctive (50c). It is also, of course, possible to indicate that the main event takes place immediately after another event (*péna che* (51)), or that it lasts as long as the embedded event (*fin che* (52)). Note that an infinitival clause can also be used with *dòpo de* and *prima de*, if the subject of the main clause and that of the embedded clause are coreferent (but not for example with *intàn*).

- (50) a. *Dòpo che la è rivada, l'a scomenzià a piòver.*
 after that she.CL is arrived, it.CL-has started to rain
 'It started raining after she arrived.'
- b. ... *intàn che la laorava.* (Viarago, AIS 1536)
 while that she.CL worked
 '... while she worked.'
- c. *De sòlito lampégia prima che*
 of usual flashes before that
tonéze. (Levico, ALD-II 682–683)
 thunders.SBJV
 'There is usually lightning before thunder.'

¹² The list is mainly made up by lexemes reported in Aneggi (1984) and by the data found in the AIS and the ALD.

TABLE 46 Subordinate conjunctions

Adverbial meaning	CT subordinator	English correspondent
Temporal	<i>quan(t) (che)</i>	when
	<i>péna che</i>	as soon as
	<i>entànt che</i>	while
	<i>dòpo che^a</i>	after that
	<i>prima che</i>	before that
	<i>fin che</i>	as long as
Causal	<i>dés che, quan che, sicóme (che), záché/giaché</i>	since
	<i>parché, perché</i>	because
Conditional	<i>se</i>	if
	<i>tant che</i>	provided that
Concessive	<i>siànca/seànca, sebèn, ancabèn, anca se</i>	although, despite
	<i>anca se</i>	even if, although
	<i>che</i>	whether
Final	<i>che/perché</i>	so that
Consecutive	<i>siché (dónca), talsinché</i>	so that
	<i>così/cusi/sì/cosita/tan X che</i>	so X that
Comparative	<i>(l'istés) ... cóme / tant ... che</i>	(as) ... as
	<i>pu ... de</i>	more ... than
	<i>manco / mén / demén ... de</i>	less ... than

a In Papanti (1875), we find *daspò che* in the variety of Baselga di Pinè.

- (51) *Péna che riva el Mario, tolén la coriéra.*
as.soon that arrives the Mario, we.take the bus
'As soon as Mario arrives, we take the bus.'
- (52) *Fin che me mama la laoréva, preparavo mi da disnà.*
until that my mum she.CL worked, prepared I to have.lunch
'As long as my mum worked, I used to prepare the lunch.'

Causal clauses: thematic causal clauses indicate a cause as a frame for the main event, rhematic causal clauses a cause that is part of the main event (cf. Salvi & Vanelli 2004: 275 f.). Formally, thematic clauses usually precede the main clause and are introduced by *dés che*, *quan che* (both in AIS) *za/già che* and *sicóme (che)* (both in Aneggi 1984, (53)), rhematic clauses follow it and are introduced by *parché/perché* (54):

- (53) *Dés che te séi famà, [magna!]* (Viarago, AIS 1015)
 now that you.CL are hungry, [eat]
 'Since you are hungry, eat!'
- (54) *La maèstra la bróntola perché qualchedùn i*
 the teacher she.CL complains because someone they.CL
ciàcera. (Civezzano, ALD-II 304–305)
 chat
 'The teacher is complaining because someone is chatting.'

Conditional clauses: indicate a condition that must be fulfilled in order for the main event to take place. Conditional clauses can be divided into two main types: those that indicate a possible condition (55) and those that indicate an impossible condition (56). In the second case, the condition can refer to the present (56a), or to the past (56b). These three types are distinct with respect to the verbal tense: in CT, the following tenses are used:

- (55) **Se + pres. ind. (or future)** + **(alóra) pres. ind. (or future)**
Se te gai fam, (alóra) *te fago la polèta.*
 if you.CL have hunger then you.DAT.CL I.do the polenta
 'If you are hungry, (then) I prepare the polenta for you.'
- (56) a. **Se + impf. subj.** + **pres. conditional**
Se te gavéssi fam, *te faria la polèta.*
 if you.CL had.SBJV hunger you.DAT.CL I.do.COND the polenta
 'If you were hungry I would prepare the polenta for you.'
- b. **Se + pluperfect subj.** + **past conditional**
imperf. ind. **imperf. ind.**
Se te gavéssi avù fam, *t' averia fat la polèta.*
 if you.CL had.SBJV had hunger you.DAT.CL I.had.COND done the polenta
Se te gavévi fam, *te févo la polèta.*
 if you.CL had.IND hunger you.DAT.CL I.did.IND the polenta
 'If you had been hungry I would have prepared the polenta for you.'

Concessive clauses refer to a secondary event that does not influence the main event (contrary to expectation). This may occur in three different situations: either a cause does not apply (57), or a condition does not apply (58), or any link between the two events is negated (59), cf. Salvi & Vanelli (2004: 279 ff.). In the first case, forms like *seanca*, *sebèn (che)*, *ancabèn* and *anca se* are used. In the second case, usually only *seanca* and *anca se* are possible. Finally, the third type is introduced by a generic element like *che* and the verb is in the subjunctive (see also § 9.5):

- (57) *Sebèn che l béve tanta bira, Andrea l' è mén gras*
 although that he.CL drinks a-lot-of beer, Andrea he.CL is less fat
de ti. (Roveré d. L., ALD-II 511–513)
 than you
 'Although he drinks a lot of beer, Andrea is less fat than you.'

- (58) *Anca se parlé pian, se ve*
 even if you.talk quietly, se you.OBJ.CL
sènte. (Trento II, ALD-II 301–302)
 hears
 'Even if you talk quietly, one can hear you.'

- (59) *Che'l sia porét o siór, no me interèsa.*
 that-he.CL is.SBJV poor-man or lord not me.CL interests
 'I don't care whether he's a poor man, or a lord.'

Final clauses: they indicate the aim of an action described in the matrix clause. They are introduced by *perché* or *che* + subjunctive (60). The most common way to express an aim, however, is the coordination of two main clauses, one of them introduced by *così* (61):

- (60) a. *Ò més en giornàl per tèra perché el paviménto*
 I.have put a newspaper on floor so-that the floor
no'l se bagna.
 not-he.CL se gets-wet
 'I put a newspaper on the floor so that it doesn't get wet.'
- b. *Ò tasèst che no te te 'n rabiéssi.*
 I.have kept-quiet that not you.CL you.REFL.CL of-it get-angry
 'I didn't say anything so that you didn't get angry.'

- (61) *Ò més en giornàl per tèra così el paviménto no'l se*
 I.have put a newspaper on floor so the floor not-he.CL se
bagna.
 gets-wet
 'I have put a newspaper on the floor so it doesn't get wet.'

Consecutive clauses: they express a consequence of the event (or of part of it) described in the main clause. If the consequence of the whole event is being described, the consecutive clause can be introduced by *siché* (*dónca*), *talsinché*

(62). If the consequence of only a part of the main clause (*so X that ...*) is being described, this element is marked by *così/cusì/sì/cosita/tan* and the embedded clause is introduced by *che* (63):

- (62) *La Lucia no la studiéva mai, siché no l'a passà*
 the Lucia not she.CL studied never, so-that not she.CL-has passed
i esami.
 the exams
 'Lucia never studied, so she didn't pass the exams.'

- (63) *Te èri così strach che te te séi endormenzà*
 you.CL were so tired that you.CL you.REFL.CL are fallen-asleep
subit. (Trento 2, ALD-II 129–131)
 right-away
 'You were so tired that you fell asleep right away.'

Comparative clauses: they introduce an event with which the main event is compared. The compared element may have the same degree or amount as the main element, or may diverge from it. In the first case, expressions like *come/tant che* are used (64). In the second, in the main clause the adverb *pu/de pu* or *manco/mén/demén* is used, and *de* introduces the term of comparison (65):

- (64) a. *La Lucia l' è bèla tant che / còme so sorèla.*
 the Lucia she.CL is beautiful much that how here sister
 'Lucia is as beautiful as her sister.'
- b. *Me bate el cor come se avessa fat na corsa per la*
 me.CL beats the heart as if I.had.SBJV made a run for the
campagna. (Nando da Gardol 168)
 country
 'My heart is beating as if I had run in the country.'
- (65) a. *Ti te séi pu fòrte de mi.* (Segonzano, ALD-II 976–977)
 you you.CL are more strong of me
 'You are stronger than me.'
- b. ... *Andrea l' è demén gras de*
 Andrea he.CL is less fat of
ti. (Segonzano, ALD-II 512–513)
 you
 '... Andrea is less fat than you.'

Finally, adverbial clauses can be introduced by the complementiser *che*, which is also used in argumental subordinate clauses. In this case, *che* is a generic introducer of adverbial clauses, because it has no specific semantics: when used alone, its meaning is usually temporal or causal with verbs in the indicative mood (66), and final or concessive with verbs in the subjunctive (67):

(66) a. *Són na fôra che piovéva.*

I.am gone out that rained

'I went out while/because it rained.'

b. *Ciama la Giulia, che no vorìa che la se faga mal.*
call the Giulia, that not I.want.COND that she.CL se make
pain

'Call Giulia, because I want to be sure that she didn't hurt.'

(67) ... *mandala tuti i di a pregar en cesa per voi,*
send.IMP.PL=her.CL all the days to pray in church for you.PL
che diventeghe pu bon [...] (De Gentilotti 145)
that you.become.PL.SBJV more good
'... and send her (sc. your daughter) every day to church, to pray for you,
so that you become a better person.'

9.3.2 *Non-finite Adverbial Clauses*

Adverbial clauses can also be formed with a gerund or with an infinitive introduced by a preposition or prepositional complementiser. While in finite adverbial clauses the semantics of the subordinate clause is usually given by the conjunction used, non-finite clauses can have various meanings, the interpretation of which depends largely on the context.¹³ Non-finite adverbial clauses can be divided into two groups: sentence-modifiers and predicate-modifiers (see Lonzi 1991). Sentence-modifiers are external to the main clause and usually precede it; thus, they refer to the whole main event and have a certain degree of independence from it. This means that they are not necessarily simultaneous with the main event, and that the negation of the main clause does

13 As will become apparent in the discussion of the following examples, it is often difficult to clearly distinguish the different adverbial meanings of non-finite adverbial clauses.

TABLE 47 Elements used to introduce sentence-modifying infinitival adverbial clauses

Introducing elements	Type of element	Main adverbial value
<i>a</i>	prepositional complementiser	causal, temporal, concessive
<i>prima de</i>	preposition + prep. complementiser	temporal (anterior)
<i>dòpo</i>	preposition	temporal (posterior)
<i>(e)n tel^a</i>	preposition	temporal (simultaneous)
<i>per, da</i>	preposition	final

a Note that here the infinitive is nominalised and preceded by the article *-l*.

not have scope over the sentence-modifying clause. Sentence modifiers usually have either a causal, conditional or temporal meaning. Unlike Italian, gerunds are seldom used in these cases, and their use is generally judged as “Italian influence”. According to the ASIt and the ALD-II, CT shares this rejection with a number of Lombard varieties, while gerunds are more accepted in Venetan dialects.

The different elements that can introduce sentence-modifying adverbial infinitival clauses are listed in Table 47:

- (68) *A aver magnà masa torta, el Giorgio l'è sta*
to have eaten too-much cake, the Giorgio he.CL-is stayed.PTCP
mal. (Montesover; ASIt 1.7)
sick
'Having eaten too much cake, Giorgio felt sick.'
- (69) a. *De sòlito el lampéza, prima de tenezàr.*
of usual it.CL flashes, before of thunder
'There is usually lightning before thunder.'
- b. *Dòpo avér netà su, son nada en zità.*
after have cleaned up I.am gone in city
'After cleaning the floor, I went to the city.'
- (70) *Ntel davèrzer la pòrta, l'è slipegada.*
in-the open the door, she.CL-is slipped
'While opening the door, she slipped.'

- (71) a. *Ò metù en giornàl per tèra per no bagnàr el*
 I.have put a newspaper on floor for not wet the
paviménto.
 floor
 'I put the newspaper on the floor so that it doesn't get wet.'
- b. *El merlo i la sfratà da li, perché*
 the blackbird they.CL him.CL=have evicted from there because
 [...] | *no gh' è pu dase* | *da*
 not there.CL is anymore fir-braches from
farghe en nif. (Alneri, 118)
 make=with.them.CL a nest
 'The blackbird has to go away, because there are no fir branches left to make a nest.'

In the example (68) the adverbial clause is causal, which clearly results from the fact that a past infinitive is used (first he ate the cake and as a consequence he felt ill). The examples (69)–(70) show different temporal clauses (cf. the examples in (69) with those in (50)). Note that, to describe a concomitant action, CT does not use *entàn*, like in explicit clauses, but the preposition *en te* ('in') with a nominalised infinitive (70). Finally, in the examples (71) the prepositions *per* and *da* are used to convey a final meaning (cf. with (71a) with (60)).

Unlike sentence modifiers, predicate-modifying clauses are part of the main clause and thus have less syntactic independence: they are simultaneous to the main event, and the negation of the main verb also affects the embedded clause. Predicate modifiers are used after the main clause, without intonative breaks. Their main value is modal, but they can also be instrumental or temporal. Even in this case, CT hardly ever resorts to gerunds, which native speakers consider to result from Italian influence. Gerunds are most firmly ruled out when an adverbial clause is more complex (i.e. when it has a number of arguments or adjuncts). In the AIS, an Italian gerund is expressed through the prepositional complementiser *a* + infinitive in Viarago:

- (72) *A rónzega a dormìr.* (Viarago, AIS 654)
 he.CL snores to sleep
 'He snores when he sleeps.'

When the speaker wants to negate the fact that the main event took place in a specific way, however, the preposition *sènza* is used (73), which can take an infinitive or a *che*-clause (+ subjunctive) as complement:

- (73) a. *La Marta l'è rivada en zima senza far fadiga.*
 the Marta she.CL-is arrived on top without make effort
 'Marta reached the peak without much effort.'
- b. [*L' Italia l'è*] *quela patria* [...] *che 'l cor,*
 The Italy she.CL-is that mother.country that the heart
enveze, da so posta, senza che nessun ghe 'l
 instead of its own without that nobody him.DAT.CL it.OBJ.CL
dises, el n'à sugerì de amar! (Sartori, 205)
 say.SBJV he.CL us.CL-has suggested to love
 'Italy is the mother country that our heart spontaneously tells us to
 love, without anybody suggesting it.'

Finally, CT speakers also express modal meanings simply by using an explicit adverbial clause; since there is no modal conjunction in CT, another, usually temporal, type of adverbial clause is used.

On the other hand, gerunds are the unmarked option in CT only when they serve as basic predicate-modifiers with a modal meaning. This is probably due to the fact that in Romance there are no modal complementisers. And so, for lack of an alternative (prepositional infinitives being rather outdated in this case), speakers resort more frequently to gerunds.

The subject of adverbial infinitival clauses is generally coreferent with the matrix subject (74); when the latter is indefinite, the infinitival subject is arbitrary (i.e., its reference is generic), as in (75):

- (74) *T'i'ai fat bèn a PRO_i taser.*
 you.CL-have done well at remain.silent
 'It was good that you remained silent.'
- (75) *A PRO_{arb} fumàr, se se mala.*
 to smoke, se.IMPERS.CL se.REFL.CL gets-ill
 'If you smoke, you get ill.'

Adverbial infinitives of this type cannot have a different, overt subject, unlike in other Italian dialects (Ligurian, Cuneo 1997; Southern Italian dialects, Vincent 1998, Ledgeway 2000, a.o.), Spanish or Catalan (Rigau 1995 a.o.), cf. (76a) and (77a) with (76b) and (77b):¹⁴

14 This ungrammaticality is shared by CT with Standard Italian; however, Italian has so-

- (76) a. *L'a fatu tütu sènsa saïlu e sō'*
 he.CL-has done everything without know.INF=it.CL the his
gènte. (Ligurian; Cuneo 1997: 106)
 people
 'He did everything without his parents knowing.'
- b. **L'a fat tut sènza savérlo i so*
 he.CL-has done everything without know.INF=it.CL the his
genitóri. (CT)
 parents
- (77) a. *Antes de actuar Caballé, el público estaba*
 before of act.INF Caballé, the people stayed
expectante. (Spanish; Rigau 1995: 173)
 expectant
 'Before Caballé came on stage, the audience was expectant.'
- b. **Prima de montàr sul palco l'Andrea Castelli, i*
 before of walk.INF on-the stage the-Andrea Castelli, they.CL
lo spetava tuti fòra dal teatro.
 him.CL waited all outside from-the theatre

9.4 Other Subordinate Clauses Introduced by the Complementiser *che*: Relatives, Pseudo-relatives and Clefts

9.4.1 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses work as attributes of a nominal expression (referred to as the "antecedent"). There are two main types of relative clause: restrictive and non-restrictive (or appositive).¹⁵ This distinction is also found in Adjectival Phrases

called "Aux-to-Comp", which do not exist in CT either. These Italian constructions are stylistically marked and belong to the written, formal register (Rizzi 1982, Mensching 2000):

(i) *La legge, che i giudici hanno deciso essere incostituzionale, è stata annullata.*
 the law that the judges have decided be.INF unconstitutional is been cancelled
 cancelled

'The law, which the judges have found unconstitutional, has been cancelled.'

15 Benincà & Cinque (2010, 2014) have identified a third type of relative clause, which she calls "kind defining relative clause". See below, § 9.5.

(see §3.6), and relative clauses are, in fact, a special type of attributive element. Restrictive relative clauses are used to pinpoint a particular antecedent from among a range of possibilities. Non-restrictive relative clauses, on the other hand, give additional information about an antecedent that is already given in the context; therefore, the information does not contribute to identifying it. A further distinction between these two types of relative clause regards intonation: restrictive relatives form a prosodic unit with the antecedent, in non-restrictive relative clauses there is a prosodic break (usually signalled by a comma) between the antecedent and the complementiser.

While many languages use either relative pronouns or a declarative complementiser to introduce relative clauses, in CT there are no relative pronouns, and hence the complementiser *che* is always used. Despite this uniform use of *che*, in many cases it is still possible to understand the syntactic role of the antecedent in the relative clause, thanks to clitic pronouns that are coindexed with the antecedent. However, in the case of restrictive relative clauses on the subject or on the object, the syntactic role of the antecedent is not signalled by a clitic and must be inferred from the context. In non-restrictive relatives, on the other hand, the use of a subject clitic is obligatory, while object clitics are optional (see §§4.5 and 8.1.1 for examples).

The antecedent may also be the indirect object in the relative clause. In this case the complementiser *che* is still used, and the syntactic role of the antecedent is marked with the dative clitic in both restrictive and non-restrictive relatives:

- (78) a. *Quel putèl che te volévi dirghen su quatro*
 that boy that you.CL wanted say=him.DAT.CL=of-it.CL up four,
 l'è scampà.
 he.CL-is run-away
 'That boy that you wanted to tell off has run away.'
- b. *El Lucio, che te volévi dirghen su quatro,*
 the Lucio, that you.CL wanted say=him.DAT.CL=of-it.CL up four,
 l'è scampà.
 he.CL-is run-away
 'Lucio, who you wanted to tell off, has run away.'

In both examples, the antecedent is the indirect object in the relative clause: (78a) is restrictive, (78b) non-restrictive; the dative clitic *ghe*, which is always obligatory with indirect objects (§4.7), gives us this interpretation.

Relative clauses in which the antecedent is an adjunct (e.g. *for/with/on whom*), however, are rarely found in CT, unless they are temporal or locative. In temporal relative clauses, the complementiser *che* is used alone (79), in locative clauses, it is preceded by the *wh*-element (*e)n dó/(e)ndé* (where), witness (80):

- (79) *L'ò vist el di che són na a Mezzocoróna.*
 him.CL-I.have seen the day that I.am gone to Mezzocorona
 'I saw him the day I went to Mezzocorona.'

- (80) a. [...] *la finèstra ndó che te còsi ti*
 [...] the window where that you.CL sew you
adès. (Viarago, AIS 892+1533)
 now
 '[...] the window where you are sewing now.'

- b. *El país en dó che són nata el se ciama Albìan.*
 the village in where that I.am born he.CL se calls Albiano
 'The village where I was born is called Albiano.'

9.4.2 *Pseudo-relative Clauses*

Pseudo-relative clauses are used in all Romance languages as secondary predicates. Secondary predicates are non-independent clauses, their subject is coindexed with an argument of the matrix clause and they describe an event that is simultaneous with the event of the main clause. They are typically used in perception constructions:

- (81) *Ò vist la Laura che la féva i mistéri.*
 I.have seen the Laura that she.CL did the housework
 'I saw Laura doing the housework.'

Like relative clauses, they are introduced by the complementiser *che*, but they are more integrated into the main clause than "real" relative clauses.¹⁶ This is reflected by the fact that they have anaphoric tense (i.e. the tense must coincide at least partially with the tense of the main verb, like in (81) and unlike in (82a)), and that they cannot have auxiliaries or modal verbs (see Radford 1975, Casalicchio 2013, 2016, and the literature cited there), consider (82b). Moreover,

16 For this reason, Pseudo-relatives are usually analysed as "Small Clauses" in formal grammar (see e.g. Cinque 1992, Rafel 2000, Casalicchio 2016).

the use of a subject clitic in the embedded clause is obligatory (81) in pseudo-relative clauses, while it is banned from restrictive relatives on the subject (see § 4.5):

- (82) a. *Ò vist la Laura che la farà i mistéri.
 I.have seen the Laura that she.CL will.do the housework
- b. *Ò vist la Manuela che l'a cromptà dele pére.
 I.have seen the Manuela that she.CL-has bought of-the pears
 che la ga da cromptà dele pére.
 that she.CL has to buy of-the pears

Another peculiar property of pseudo-relatives, which distinguishes them from ordinary relative clauses, is the possibility of cliticising the antecedent (compare the pseudo-relative in (83a) with the ordinary relative in (83b)¹⁷):

- (83) a. L'ò vista che la féva i
 her.CL-I.have seen that she.CL did the
 mistéri. (pseudo-relative clause)
 housework
 'I saw her doing the housework.'
- b. #L'ò cromptada che l'èra
 her.CL-I.have bought that she.CL-was
 róssa. (restrictive relative clause)
 red

Pseudo-relative clauses are usually found in perception constructions. However, like in Italian, they also occur with other types of verb and constructions, and the antecedent of the pseudo-relative clause can have different syntactic roles in the main clause: direct object (84) (see also (81)), subject (85), or complement of a preposition (86):

- (84) a. Varda el Remo che'l córe a ca.
 look the Remo that-he.CL runs to home
 'Look, Remo is running home.'

17 Note that (83b) is grammatical if the *che*-clause is interpreted as adverbial ('I bought it [e.g., the apple] when/because it was still red').

- b. *Ò encontrà el Giani che l néva dal dotór.*
 I.have met the Gianni that he.CL went to-the doctor
 'I met Gianni while he was going to the doctor.'
- (85) a. *El Mario l'è tornà a casa che'l spuzava de*
 the Mario he.CL-is come-back to house that-he.CL smelled of
vin.
 wine
 'Mario came back home smelling of wine.'
- b. *La Maria l'èi en césa che la parla col prète.*
 the Maria she.CL-is in church that she.CL talks with-the priest
 'Maria is in the church and talks to the priest.'
- (86) a. *Con me sorèla che la pianze, no pòdo nar fòra.*
 with my sister that she.CL cries, not I.can go out
 'Since my sister is crying, I can't go out.'
- b. *La fòto de la Maria che la fa la polènta no*
 the picture of the Maria that she.CL makes the polenta not
l'avévo mai vista.
 her.CL-I.had never seen
 'I had never seen before the picture of Maria preparing the polenta.'

In (84), the antecedent ('Remo' and 'Giani', respectively) is both the object of the main verb and the logical subject of the pseudo-relative clause. In (85), the antecedent is the subject of both the main and the pseudo-relative clause: 'Mario' is the subject of the verb *tornà* in (85a), and 'Maria' of the verb *èsser* in (85b). Note that in both cases the pseudo-relative is separated from the antecedent by the rest of the main clause. This is an important difference from ordinary relative clauses, in which the antecedent and the relative clause must always be adjacent. Finally, the examples in (86) are instances of a pseudo-relative clause used as the complement of a preposition: (86a) is an example of the so-called absolute construction: the preposition *con* here has no lexical meaning, its role is to introduce a clause that does not share any argument with the main clause (hence its definition as 'absolute', cf. Ruwet 1978, Casalicchio 2015; see also § 5.2.2). (86b) is an example of a DP-modifying pseudo-relative clause: the preposition *de*, which introduces the antecedent, modifies the noun *fòto*.

In Romance, other types of construction can be used as secondary predicates instead of pseudo-relatives: predicative gerunds, prepositional infinitives and periphrastic constructions with *drio* ('behind' in Venetan). All three are used in the area surrounding CT: a particular version of gerunds is used in Swiss Romansh and in the Northern Ladin varieties (87). Prepositional infinitives are widespread in Gallo-italic varieties (although they seem to be in decline at least in some areas, (88)). They are also used in Standard Italian, but in more limited contexts (89). Finally, secondary predicates with *drio* are used in some Venetan varieties, especially Venetian (90). In CT, on the other hand, both gerunds and *drio*-constructions are completely ruled out in secondary predicates ((87b) and (90b)). Prepositional infinitives, on the other hand, are possible in some, limited, contexts: their distribution seems to be exactly the same as in Standard Italian, where prepositional infinitives can be used, for example, in locative expressions and with *becâr* ('catch') (89b). CT thus patterns with standard Italian here, and not with Gallo-italic varieties, where prepositional infinitives are used in many more contexts (cf. Casalicchio 2013):¹⁸

- (87) a. *É udù Ivuere maian n*
 I.have seen Giorgio eating an
mëil. (Gardenese Ladin; Casalicchio 2013: 202)
 apple
 'I saw Giorgio eating an apple.'

- b. **Ò vist el Giorgio mangiànt en póm.* (CT)
 I.have seen the Giorgio eating an apple
 I.have seen the Giorgio eating an apple

- (88) a. *E l'æ višt Gíorz a mangé 'r*
 I.CL AUX.CL-have seen Giorgio to eat the
mæ. (Viola, Piedmont; Casalicchio 2013: 202)
 apple
 'I saw Giorgio eating the apple.'

- b. **Ò vist el Giorgio a magnàr el póm.* (CT)
 I.have seen the Giorgio to eat the apple

- (89) a. *È stato sorpreso a rubare in banca.* (Standard Italian)
 he.is been caught to steal in bank

¹⁸ Example (89b) comes from Federica Cognola (p.c.), example (90a) from Marco Coniglio (p.c.).

- b. *L'è sta becà a rubàr ente na banca.* (CT)
 he.CL-is been caught to steal in a bank
 'He was caught while he was robbing a bank.'

- (90) a. *Lo gò visto drio magnàr.* (Venetian)
 him.CL I.have seen after eat
 'I saw him eating.'

- b. **L'ò vist drio (a) magnàr.* (CT)
 him.CL-I.have seen after (to) eat

9.4.3 Cleft Sentences

A final type of *che*-clause is the cleft sentence, which is used in many Romance languages to stress a focussed constituent, in isolation from the rest of the clause. Clefts are most often used either when one constituent is contrasted with another (*It is Peter, not Paul*), or when the underlined constituent has just been introduced into the discourse (typically as answer to a question). Declarative cleft sentences are introduced by the subject clitic (when it is available) and the copula *èsser*, which are followed by the focalised constituent and the *che*-clause (91)–(92):

	Subj. clitic	+ <i>èsser</i>	+ focalised constituent	+ <i>che</i>	+ rest of the clause
(91) a.	<i>L'</i> it.CL	<i>è</i> is	<i>to fradèl</i> your brother	<i>che</i> that	<i>(l') a ciama i pompiéri.</i> he.CL has called the firemen 'YOUR BROTHER called the firemen.'
b.	<i>L'</i> it.CL	<i>era</i> was	<i>i to fradèi</i> the your brothers	<i>che</i> that	<i>(i) voléva nar via.</i> they.CL wanted go away 'YOUR BROTHERS wanted to go away.'
c.	<i>Te</i> you.CL	<i>séi</i> are	<i>tí</i> you	<i>che</i> that	<i>no te vòl nar via.</i> not you.CL want go away <i>che no vòl nar via.</i> that not wants go away 'YOU don't want to go away.'
(92) a.	<i>L'</i> it.CL	<i>è</i> is	<i>en gelato</i> an ice-cream	<i>che</i> that	<i>vòi magnàr.</i> I.want eat 'I want to eat ICE-CREAM.'

(cont.)

	Subj. clitic	+ <i>èsser</i>	+ focalised constituent	+ <i>che</i>	+ rest of the clause
b.	<i>L'</i> it.CL	<i>è</i> is	<i>ala nòna</i> to-the grandma	<i>che</i> that	<i>g'ò dat la chiave.</i> her.DAT.CL-I.have given the keys
			'I gave the keys to GRANDMA.'		
c.	<i>L'</i> it.CL	<i>è sta</i> is been	<i>a Verona</i> at Verona	<i>che</i> that	<i>l'ò vist.</i> him.CL-I.have seen
			'I saw him in VERONA.'		
d.	<i>L'</i> it.CL	<i>è</i> is	<i>entànt che èro</i> while that I.was	<i>che</i> that	<i>ò pèrs i ociai.</i> I.have lost the glasses
			<i>en màchina</i> in car		
			'I lost my glasses WHILE I WAS IN THE CAR.'		

The examples in (91) are subject clefts, while in (92) other types of constituent are clefted. Note that the copula is preceded by an expletive subject clitic, which always takes the default third singular masculine form (as can be seen when the copula is in the past, (91b)). The only exception concerns subjects in the 1st and 2nd person (91c): in these cases the subject clitic and the copula may agree with the clefted constituent. This corresponds to Italian, where the copula always agrees with the clefted subject, while in French the copula is always in the third person singular, even when the clefted subject is first or second person.

On the other hand, the speakers show some uncertainty about the agreement of the embedded verb: with a third person subject, the subject clitic is optional (91a)–(91b). With a second person subject, some speakers use the agreeing form *te voi*, others a default third person *vol* without a preceding subject clitic (91c). The use of a default form is also found in other Trentino dialects and in some neighbouring Lombard dialects in the province of Brescia (Brione, Monno), as evidenced in the ASIt database.¹⁹

The examples in (92) show that the clefted constituent can be of various types: direct object (92a), indirect object (92b), an adverbial prepositional phrase (92c), or even a subordinate clause (92d). Note that when the focal-

19 The use of a non-agreeing verb in the *che*-clause of clefts also occurs in German:

(i) *Du bist es, der nicht verstehen will.*
you are it, that not understand wants
'YOU don't want to understand.'

ised noun is preceded by a preposition (92b)–(92c), the whole PP is extraposed. The use of clitics within the *che*-clause, to refer to the antecedent, depends on the latter's syntactic role: as we have seen, with clefted third person subjects the clitic is optional (91). When the clefted constituent is a direct object, clitic resumption is ungrammatical. Clefted clauses thus differ from relative and pseudo-relative clauses: in relative clauses, clitic resumption does not depend on the syntactic status (subject vs. object) of the antecedent, but on the type of relative clauses—non-restrictive relative clauses require clitic resumption in both cases, restrictive relative clauses in none. Pseudo-relative clauses, on the other hand, always require a subject clitic. As far as indirect objects are concerned, they require obligatorily resumption through the clitic *ghe* in cleft clauses, as well as in all types of relative clause.

The tense of the copula and the verb in the *che*-clause are often coincident. However, it is also possible to use a default present tense for the copula:

- (93) a. *L'è sta el Mario che m' a ciamà.*
 it.CL-is been the Mario that me.CL has called
- b. *L'è el Mario che m' a ciamà.*
 it.CL-is the Paolo that me.CL has called
 'MARIO called us.'

Cleft sentences can also be formed with a prepositional infinitive instead of a *che*-clause. This happens especially when the copula is in a past tense:

- (94) *L'è sta el Mario a ciamarme.*
 it.CL-is been the Mario to call=me.CL
 'MARIO called us.'

Comparing (93) with (94), we see that in the latter there is no independent tense indication in the infinitival clause. This means that the time reference of the infinitival clause is always coincident with the tense of the copula, which cannot have a default tense in these cases.

Another common use of clefts is with *wh*-interrogatives: cleft sentences are often used to form interrogatives of this type, because *wh*-elements are typically focalised (Rizzi 1997), and can therefore be clefted:

- (95) a. *Chi èl che vèn?* (Civezzano, ALD-II 1011)
 who is=it.CL that comes?

- b. *Chi è che vèn?* (Cembra, ALD-II 1011)
 who is that comes
 'Who is coming?'
- c. *A chi èl che t'ai mandà quèla*
 to who is=it.CL that you.CL-have sent that
létera? (Civezzano, ALD-II 323–324)
 letter
 'Who did you sent that letter?'
- d. *Cos' èl che te interèsà?* (Vezzano, ALD-II 1023)
 what is=it.CL that you.OBJ.CL interests
 'What are you interested in?'
- (96) a. *Quand è che te vai?* (Trento 1, ALD-II 397)
 when is that you.CL go
 'When do you leave?'
- b. *Qual èl el sentér [che te fai]?* (Trento 1, ALD-II 403)
 which is=it.CL the path [that you.CL do]
 'Which path are you walking?'
- c. *End èl che as metü la*
 where is=it.CL that you.have put the
bórsa? (Sicina, ALD-II 1028)²⁰
 bag
 'Where did you put the bag?'

The examples in (95) have an argumental, those in (96) an adverbial, wh-element. Like in non-clefted interrogative sentences, the main verb (i.e., the copula) shows inversion with an impersonal subject clitic *-(e)l*. Note that the impersonal clitic is only optional in these cases (cf. (95a)–(95b)), unlike in declarative cleft clauses, where it is obligatory (cf. *supra* and §4.5). On the other hand, the lexical verb in the clefted clause never shows inversion with the subject clitic (when the latter is present: (95c)–(95d), (96a)–(96b)). This is because the whole sentence, except the wh-element, is embedded in a *che*-clause, which is incompatible with inversion.

²⁰ Note that we would expect a subject clitic *te* ('*t'as*') in this sentence.

The examples in (95) and (96) show that all types of *wh*-element can be clefted, with the sole exception of *perché* ('why'). However, this restriction does not affect other *wh*-elements which interrogate on the cause: *par còssa* ('for what' = 'why'), like other *wh*-words, can enter a cleft sentence:

- (97) a. **Perché èl / è che te crómpi sta ròba?*
 why is=it.CL is that you.CL buy that thing
- b. *Per còss'è che te crómpi quèi*
 for what-is that you.CL buy that
 ghéti? (Vigolo Vattaro, ALD-II 331–332)
 trinket
 'Why are you buying that trinket?'

The two examples in (97) are minimal pairs, showing that the restriction on interrogative clefts is not related to questions on the cause in general, but more specifically to the presence of the *wh*-element *perché*; *per còssa*, which is used with the same meaning in the map 331–332 of the ALD-II, is fine here.

9.5 Use of Subjunctive in Embedded Clauses

This section summarizes the main uses of the subjunctive mood in embedded clauses. As we will see, there are some contexts in which its use is obligatory and other in which it is optional, whereby the subjunctive is often replaced by the indicative. The main contexts for the use of the subjunctive are:

- a. some adverbial clauses, such as temporal clauses of anteriority (see example (50) above), irrealis conditional (56), final (60), and comparative clauses (64b). In addition, clauses that exclude a concomitant event, introduced by *sènza che* ('without'), see (73b). Note that several speakers use the indicative in these clauses. Unlike in Italian, the subjunctive is not used in concessive clauses (except for those that negate a link between two events (59)). This is due to the fact that they are introduced by *seànca*, *anca se* or *sebèn che* (57)–(58): both *se* and this type of *che* are incompatible with the subjunctive.
- b. Argumental subordinate clauses selected by various types of verb require the subjunctive:

1. Verbs of volition, which refer to a wish, desire or order (e.g., *volér* 'want', *pregàr* 'ask to do something', *dir* 'say to do something, order', *domandàr* 'ask for permission' or 'ask someone to do something'):

(98) *Vot che te porta fighi o la*
 you.want=you.CL that you.DAT.CL I.bring.SBJV figs or the
carobola? (Bonapace, 127)
 carob
 'Do you want me to bring you figs or carobs?'

(99) (...) *o i me dis che vaga a monzer o a zapar o che*
 or they.CL me say that I.go.SBJV to milk or to hoe or that
vaga a messa, se l'è festa. (Nando da G., 173)
 I.go.SBJV to mass if it.CL-is feast
 '... either I'm told to go milk or hoe, or to go to mass, if it's a feast day.'

2. Verbs and expressions referring to an expectation (e.g., *speràr* 'hope', *no véder l'óra che* 'look forward', *gavér paura* 'be afraid', *sospetàr* 'suspect'):

(100) *Sperava ... chi sa ... che a l' ultim moment saltas*
 I.hoped who knows that at the last moment jumped.SBJV
for qualcos, qualche avveniment imprevis, en miracol,
 out something some event unexpected a miracle
ensoma. (Sartori, 208)
 indeed
 'I hoped ... who knows ... that at the last moment something happened,
 an unexpected event, actually a miracle.'

(101) ... *i sospetava che'l gavess soto el paletò l'*
 they.CL suspected that-he.CL had.SBJV under the coat the
atomica tascabile. (Nando da G., 176)
 atom.bomb pocket-sized
 'They suspected he may have the pocket atom bomb under his coat.'

3. Verbs of opinion or belief (e.g. *créder* 'believe', *pensàr* in the sense of 'suppose'). Note that in this case CT behaves like Italian and unlike French and Spanish, in requiring the subjunctive even when the main verb is not negated:

- (102) a. *Mi credeva che te fussi quasi mort.*
 I thought that you.CL were.SBJV almost died
 'I thought that you had died.' (De Gentilotti, 141)

- b. *No podeva creder che 'l Sioredito 'l permetes na crudeltà simile.*
 not I.could believe that the Lord he.CL permitted.SBJV a cruelty such
 'I couldn't believe that the Lord allowed such a cruelty.'

- (103) *Pènso che l postin el sia zà passà.*
 I.think that the postman he.CL is.SBJV already passed
 'I think the postman has already come.'

4. Verbs that indicate that the subject does an action to get a result (e.g., *far en mòdo che* 'make, behave in order to obtain a result', *badàr* 'be careful to avoid'), or that allow that an action takes place (*lassàr* 'let, allow', *perméter* 'allow'):²¹

- (104) *Vara che no l se faga mal.*
 mind that not he.CL se does.SBJV bad
 'Be careful that he doesn't get hurt!'

- (105) a. *Però làsseme che te diga che te podevi zercarte qualcos de meio.*
 but let-me that you.DAT.CL I.say.SBJV that you.CL could search-you.DAT.CL something of better
 'But let me tell you that you could have looked for something better.'

- b. *Ma lu l'à lassà che i diga.*
 but he he.CL-has let that they.CL say.SBJV
 'But he let them speak.'

5. Impersonal verbs, such as *bisògna* ('it is necessary'), *l'è mèio* ('it is better'), *pòl darse* ('it is possible'), *el par* ('it seems'):

²¹ Note that in (105b) the *consecutio temporum* is not respected (see Section 9.5.2).

- (106) *Bisògna che i veciòti i béva de*
 it.is.necessary that the elderly.people they.CL drink.SBJV of
pu. (Vezzano, ALD-II 545–546)
 more
 ‘It is necessary that elderly people drink more.’

- (107) *Sarìa meio che nes a casa anca*
 it.is.COND better that I.went.SBJV to home also
mi. (Bonapace, 127)
 I
 ‘It would be also better for me to go home.’

- (108) *Al pòl darse che l sia*
 it.CL can give=se that he.CL is.SBJV
òrbo. (Mezzocorona, ALD-II 92–93)
 blind
 ‘It is possible that he’s blind.’

- (109) *En savé tante dele done che ‘l par*
 of.them.CL you.know.PL so.much of-the women that it.CL seems
che le aveghe provade. (De Gentilotti, 139)
 that them.CL you.have.PL.SBJV tried.out
 ‘You know so much about women that it seems you have tried them out.’

c. In indirect interrogative clauses, the subjunctive is optional:

- (110) *No sò che ociài che la abia / a*
 not I.know what glasses that she.CL has.SBJV has.IND
tòt. (Vezzano, ALD-II 954–955)
 taken
 ‘I don’t know which glasses she has taken.’

- (111) *No savén quel che l faga el*
 not we.know what that he.CL does.SBJV the
Gigi. (Cembra, ALD-II 1033–1035)
 Gigi
 ‘We don’t know what Gigi is doing.’

- (112) *Come l'aba fat, no l'à mai savest*
 how he.CL-has.SBJV done not it.CL-has never known
nessun. (Bonapace, 131)
 nobody
 'Nobody has ever discovered how he did [to become rich].'

d. A type of relative clause, with special semantics, requires the subjunctive, cf. (113a) with (113b):

- (113) a. *El Paolo el vòl na putèla che la sia bona de*
 the Paolo he.CL wants a girl that she.CL is.SBJV good of
parlàr inglés.
 speak English
 'Paolo is looking for a girl that can speak English.'
- b. *El Paolo el vòl na putèla che l'è bona de*
 the Paolo he.CL wants a girl that she.CL-is.IND good of
parlàr inglés.
 speak English
 'Paolo is looking for a girl that can speak English.'

The two sentences have a different meaning: in (113a) Paolo is looking for a babysitter, and he would like her to speak English (maybe because he wants her to talk to his children in English). The relative clause is called "kind defining" in Benincà & Cinque (2014), because it does not restrict the reference of the head, as is the case of (113b). Rather, "it characterizes the head—which does not have to be referentially defined—as belonging to a certain class" (Benincà 2012: 104). In (113b), on the other hand, a specific girl is meant.

9.5.1 *The consecutio temporum*

The choice of the subjunctive tense in subordinate clauses does not depend on the reference time of the clause that has a subjunctive predicate, but rather on the tense of the main verb, with respect to which the subjunctive tenses merely represent anteriority or simultaneity. For posteriority, on the other hand, future indicative and past conditional are the most common forms. Table 48 summarizes the rules.

This pattern, shared with most Romance varieties, derives from Latin. However, in CT (as well as in Italian) there is a tendency to overextend the use of the imperfect subjunctive, instead of the perfect subjunctive, to mark anteriority when the main verb is in a present/future tense. Thus, the distinction imper-

TABLE 48 The *consecutio temporum* of subjunctive clauses

	Anteriority	Simultaneity	Posteriority
Present/future tense	perfect subjunctive	present subjunctive	pres. subj./fut. ind.
<i>Pénso che ...</i>	<i>... l sia vegnù.</i>	<i>... l vègna.</i>	<i>... l vègna / vegnerà.</i>
I.think that	he.CL be.SBJV come	he.CL come.SBJV	he.CL come.SBJV will.come
Past tense	pluperfect subjunctive	imperfect subjunctive	past conditional
<i>Pensavo che ...</i>	<i>... l fussa vegnù.</i>	<i>... l vegnissa.</i>	<i>... l saria vegnù.</i>
I.thought that	he.CL was.SBJV come	he.CL came.SBJV	he.CL would.be come

fect/perfect subjunctive tends to be reshaped as an aspectual distinction which mirrors that between imperfect and *passato prossimo* in the indicative:

- (114) a. *Crèdo che la so nòna la fussa / *sia stada*
I.think that the his grandma she.CL was.SBJV is.SBJV been
vèneta.
Venetan
'I think his grandma came from Veneto.'
- b. *Crèdo che la so nòna la stèssa / sia*
I.think that the his grandma she.CL stayed.SBJV is.SBJV
stada a Fòndo.
stayed at Fondo
'I think his grandma had been to Fondo.'

In sentences like (114a) the imperfect subjunctive is felt to be preferable when referring to a stative event (the origin of a person), just as happens in the indicative, where one says *La èra vèneta*, but not **La è stada vèneta* ('she was from Veneto'). (114b) offers a clear example of the aspectual difference: the imperfect subjunctive (*stèssa*) expresses that the grandma lived in Fondo. The perfect subjunctive *sia stada*, on the other hand, means that the grandma visited Fondo at least once, but not that she lived there.

Pragmatic Particles

CT, like other northern Italian dialects,¹ is rich in particles that express a variety of pragmatic nuances within a sentence, often related to the speaker's presuppositions about the propositional content of the utterance. In the literature these are called sentential (SP), or modal (MP), particles. We prefer to call them pragmatic particles, since their value is strictly bound to the expression of an utterance's illocutive force. These particles originate in various linguistic categories (mainly temporal adverbs, pronouns and verbs) devoid of their original semantic function.

In the first section of the chapter (§10.1) we present some properties shared by all pragmatic particles: a) they lack propositional content; b) they suggest the speaker's attitude to the propositional content of the utterance; c) they usually occur in clause peripheral positions.

The second section (§10.2) focuses on those particles that occur in CT declarative sentences, such as *bèn* lit. 'well', *miga* lit. 'crumb', and *tòi* lit. 'you'.² *Miga* and *bèn*, already discussed as presuppositional adverbs in §§6.4.2–6.4.3, are re-examined here. In this section we describe the origin of each particle, the type of clause in which it occurs, its position in the clause, and its contribution to the interpretation of the utterance concerned.

The third section (§10.3) focuses on the particles that occur in interrogative and imperative sentences, in particular *pò* 'after', derived from Latin POST/POSTEA, *mò* 'just', from Latin MODO, and—again—*tòi*.

The final section (§10.4) deals with *-(n)te*, a particular enclitic form of the 1st singular and plural personal pronoun, which is nowadays used as a marker of [-realis] modality in interrogatives.

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- 1 German and most German dialects (among which Tyrolean, which was spoken in the Trentino ruled by the Hapsburg dynasty during the 19th century and is still spoken in the nearby South Tyrol) often use particles to express different pragmatic nuances in sentences. In particular, Coniglio (2008), Hack (2011) and Bayer (2012) underline some similar functions between the German particle *denn* and the Fassan *pa* (see §10.3).
 - 2 The exact pronunciation of sentential particles may vary in different parts of the CT area, especially for the contrast open/closed mid vowels. In this chapter, we give the pronunciation found in the city of Trento.

10.1 General Properties

The particles that we describe in this chapter are common to several dialects of the northeastern Italian area, although they are differently distributed in each dialect. They derive from different categories (adverbs—often of time—, pronouns—especially first and second person—, verbs in the second person³), and their interpretation is not propositional, but pragmatic. The particles—as indicated above—serve to express or modulate the speaker's attitude to the propositional content of the utterance, which may coincide with the speaker's point of view on, or commitment to, the truth value of the proposition (*p*), or the assumption that the addressee is not aware of *p*.⁴ These particles do not affect the truth conditions of the sentence in which they occur, nor do they add anything to the propositional content of the utterance, as their impossibility to appear in reported speech confirms.

Pragmatic aspects, such as a presupposition, the point of view, or the presentation of an event, are usually encoded in the left periphery of the clause. Most particles occur in peripheral—mainly sentence-final—positions, where right dislocated constituents can follow them, since elements that have developed a pragmatic function are typically found in sentence-final position.⁵ More generally, the peripheral position, commonly attested in languages all over the world, is associated with a change of function.⁶

Pragmatic particles are sensitive to clause type. In CT, they often appear in main interrogatives, exclamatives or imperatives, always in “special” contexts.⁷ For questions, special contexts are those in which the reply to the question is already known (1a), or regards an object which the speaker cannot find (1b):

- (1) a. (X and Y are leaving their house and are late. When X goes back to get the umbrella he has forgotten, Y asks himself:)

3 The grammatical person has specific correlates in terms of pragmatic functions, especially in relation to the development of subjective values (expressed by the 1st person) or intersubjective values (expressed by the 2nd person).

4 Cf. Weydt (1969), Coniglio (2008), Cardinaletti (2011).

5 “The particles we consider also share the following distributional property: they can occur in sentence-final position, a fact that—we claim—can be derived by movement of the whole clause to the specifier position of the head occupied by the particle; we take this head to be a high functional head of the split CP layer, which can attract to its specifier either a *wh*-item or its whole complement.” (Munaro & Poletto 2005: 174).

6 See Degand & Fagard (2011) for French; Traugott & Dasher (2001) for English.

7 Cf. § 9.1.2.

Ndó valo pò adès?
 where goes=he.CL *pò* now
 'Now where's he going?'

- b. (X is looking everywhere for his wallet, but cannot find it. Finally, he bursts out:)

Ndó èlo pò?
 where is=he.CL *pò*
 'Where the hell is it?'

For imperatives, special contexts are those in which the speaker expresses an order and expects an immediate response (2a), or presumes that the response will not be satisfactory (2b):

- (2) a. *Vèi mò chi.*
 come *mò* here

'Come here immediately!'

- b. (X insists that his teenage son tell him whom he is meeting, after the son has already responded evasively)

Dime mò chi che te védi stasséra!
 tell=me.CL *mò* who that you.CL see this.evening
 'Tell me who you are seeing tonight!'

Some particles can also occur in declarative sentences, where they express a special presupposition. In the next section we discuss three of these, all of which are common in CT declarative sentences: *miga* lit. 'indeed not', *bèn* lit. 'well', *tòi* lit. 'you', focusing on their main properties, namely: a) origin; b) interpretation; c) distribution in different clause types; d) position in the clause.

10.2 Pragmatic Particles in Declarative Sentences

Miga derives from Latin MICAM 'crumb'. It negates whatever the speaker presupposes the addressee to believe (3a). In a small number of CT examples *miga* seems not to function as a negation marker of a presupposition, but simply as a negative reinforcing marker, following the participle when the verb is compound (3b).

- (3) a. (X thinks that Y is hungry and offers him/her a snack. Y says:)

No gò miga fam.
 not I.have *miga* hunger
 'I am not hungry'

(*I è*) *regài che no t'hai apprezzà*
 they.CL are presents that not you.CL-have appreciated
miga. (Castelli 2017)
miga
 '(These are) presents that you did not appreciate at all.'

The restrictions noted by Cinque (1976) for Italian *mica* also apply to the distribution of Trentino *miga*: it only occurs in main clauses that can include pre-suppositions (declaratives, interrogatives or imperatives). However, *miga* can occur in embedded clauses selected by specific verb classes (mainly of saying or believing, and non-restrictive relative clauses).

Until recently, *miga* was usually preceded by the negator *no* 'not', which, in turn, preceded the verb. Nowadays, however, speakers increasingly use the particle without negation (see § 6.4.2).⁸

The presuppositional particle *bèn* 'well' is frequently used not only in CT, but also in all Trentino dialectal varieties and in the regional Italian spoken in the province. It derives from the homophonous manner adverb. This particle has two interpretations (Cognola & Schifano 2018). The first is concessive: *bèn* expresses a speaker's less than full commitment to the truth-value of *p*:⁹

- (4) *Lè bèn bravo, però nol me pias.*
 he.CL-is *bèn* good but not=he.CL me.DAT.CL pleases
 'He is a good person, but I don't like him.'

In the second interpretation, *bèn* expresses the speaker's assumption that the addressee is not aware of *p*.¹⁰ Using it, the speaker assures the hearer that

⁸ However, it can still appear in verbless sentences.

⁹ This function corresponds to that of German particle *wohl* 'well'. According to Zimmermann (2011), *wohl* expresses "a weakened commitment towards the truth of the proposition expressed, such that the descriptive content of the clause is not presented as secure knowledge, but rather as an assumption or a conjecture".

¹⁰ In this case *bèn* corresponds to the German particles *doch* and *schon*; more precisely, *bèn* seems to correspond to the Tyrolean *schun* (see § 6.4.3).

she/he (the speaker) is already convinced of a particular fact, and that the presupposition that he disagrees with her/his addressee is false. In this case the pragmatic value of *bèn* is closely related to that of *miga*, since both serve to negate a presupposition.¹¹

- (5) (X starts to explain to Y how to reach his/her house, since X supposes that Y does not know where it is. But Y says:)

Sò bèn ndó che te stai.

I.know *bèn* where that you.CL stay

'I know where you live.'

This particle only occurs in main declarative, not in interrogative or imperative clauses, or verbless sentences.¹² It is compatible with the same types of embedded declarative clause as *miga*, i.e. those with 'believe' and 'say' verbs, and with non-restrictive relative clauses, which are all contexts including an independent presupposition (see § 6.4.3).

Bèn, like *miga*, immediately follows the flexed verb of a clause.

Tòi is another particle that can occur in declarative sentences with a pragmatic function. It corresponds to the emphatic form of the 2nd singular personal pronoun used as a vocative, in structures such as *ti, tòì, sta fermo!* 'you, YOU, don't move!'.

The pragmatic particle *tòi* is often used in imperatives and interrogatives. In main declaratives its function is to express the speaker's surprise about the content of the proposition.

- (6) *La ghè vegnuda pròpri bèla sta tórta tòì*
 she.CL her.DAT.CL-is come really nice this cake *tòi*
 'This cake of her has turned out really well!'

Unlike *bèn* and *miga*, *tòi* never occurs in embedded completive clauses—not even after a 'believe' verb—(7a), or in non-restrictive relatives (7b).

- (7) a. **No crédo che tòì la Maria la sia próna.*
 not I.believe that *tòi* the Maria she.CL is.SBJV ready
 'I don't believe that Mary is ready.'

11 According to Cognola & Schifano (2018), the two interpretations of *bèn* correspond to two distinct structural positions, respectively a FP and NegP.

12 However, *bèn* can occur with a periphrastic imperative (*vara bèn de star fermo!*; lit. look *bèn* to stay still; 'don't move!')

- b. **La Maria, che (tòi) l'è stada mal (tòi), adès la vive*
 the Maria who (tòi) she.CL-is been sick (tòi) now she.CL lives
col Franco.
 with-the Franco
 'Mary, that was sick, now is living with Franco.'

Unlike *bèn* and *miga*, *tòi* can never appear immediately after the inflected verb. Its position in the clause is either final, as in (6), or initial, as in (8):

- (8) *Tòi, la gh'è vegnuda pròpri bèla sta tórta!*
 tòi she.CL her.DAT.CL-is come really nice this cake
 'This cake of her has turned out really well!'

However, *tòi* can precede a dislocated NP, as in (9a), or follow it, as in (9b):

- (9) a. *La gh'è vegnuda pròpri bèla, tòi, sta tórta!*
 she.CL her.DAT.CL-is come really nice *tòi* this cake
 'This cake of her has turned out really well!'
- b. *Sta tórta, tòi, la gh'è vegnuda pròpri bèla!*
 this cake *tòi* she.CL her.DAT.CL-is come really nice
 'This cake of her has turned out really well!'

10.3 Pragmatic Particles in Interrogative and Imperative Sentences

In northern Italian dialects, most particles with a pragmatic value occur in interrogative and imperative clauses. According to Munaro & Poletto (2008: 195) these particles (which the authors call sentential particles—SP) are the result of a grammaticalisation process “which includes a phonological as well as a semantic impoverishment along with the development of special syntactic properties; such a process is generally attested in the case of elements becoming the overt realization of (marked values of) functional heads.” The syntactic behaviour, especially, of these particles (i.e. their ungrammaticality in embedded contexts) suggests that they belong to the highest functional domain, since the asymmetry matrix *versus* embedded clauses is a typical property of phenomena involving the CP field. One could suppose that—within the CP layer—they occupy different head positions, since each of these particles has a distinct pragmatic function.¹³

¹³ In some sentences, more particles can cooccur.

In some dialectal varieties the grammaticalisation process goes further, with pragmatic particles becoming obligatory markers of interrogative and imperative modalities. However, this development has not occurred in CT, where the particles are optional and maintain their pragmatic value in imperatives and interrogatives.

In interrogative clauses, the most common CT pragmatic particles are *tòi*, *pò*, *miga*, *mò*; in imperative clauses we frequently find the particles *mò*, *vè*, *sta/sté/el staga/la staga* (+ infinitive).

Tòi appears in direct *wh*- interrogatives, where it has two possible interpretations:

- (10) *Quando sarài rivadi, tòi?*
 when will.be=they.CL arrived *tòi*
 ‘When will they have come?’

- (11) *Ndèi nadi, tòi?*
 where-are=they.CL gone *tòi*
 ‘Where have they gone?’

Question (10) is self-addressed, and *tòi* suggests that the speaker can’t find an answer which s/he is very anxious to have (this interpretation is called “can’t find the value” in Obenauer 2004). In question (11), on the other hand, the speaker already knows the answer and is expressing surprise or reproach (this interpretation is called “surprise” in Obenauer 2004). Which of the two interpretations is chosen seems to depend on verb tense: present and past tenses trigger the “surprise” interpretation, while the future favours the “can’t find the value” reading. In both cases, as noted by Munaro & Poletto (2009: 178) for the corresponding Venetan form *ti*, the particle indicates that the speaker considers the value of the variable in the reply to be outside the set of “canonical values”, or, in other words, not to correspond to the set of the possible answers that the addressee can select. *Tòi* signals a non-canonical interpretation of the question: the addressee is not allowed to choose a value for the variable from inside the set. In the “can’t find the value” interpretation, in fact, the speaker is not really questioning the addressee; in the “surprise” interpretation the value is either outside the set of acceptable values (in a reproach reading) or outside the set of expected values (in a surprise reading). When *tòi* has a “surprise” interpretation it is compatible with (both full and weak) 2nd SG subject pronouns:

- (12) *Ti, ndó sét sta, tòì?*
 you where are=you.CL been *tòì*
 'You, where have you been?'

In self-addressed questions with the "can't find the value" interpretation, on the other hand, *tòì* is non-compatible with a 2nd person subject:

- (13) * *Ndó sét, tòì?*
 where are=you.CL *tòì*
 'Where are you?'

The particle *tòì* is never compatible with negation:

- (14) * *Ndó no éi nadi, tòì?*
 where not are=they.CL gone *tòì*
 'Where haven't they gone?'

Tòì occurs in the final position of interrogative clauses.¹⁴ However, when a constituent is right-dislocated, *tòì* can precede it:

- (15) *Ndó saralo, tòì, el tacuìn?*
 where will.be=he.CL *tòì* the wallet
 'Where can my wallet be?'

In cleft interrogative sentences *tòì* can occur either in the final position (16a), or immediately before *che* (16b):

- (16) a. *Còss'èlo che i a dit, tòì?*
 what-is=it.CL that they.CL have said *tòì*
 'What did they say?'
 b. *Còss'èlo tòì, che i a dit?*
 what-is=it.CL *tòì* that they.CL have said
 'What did they say?'

14 When *tòì* occurs in the initial sentence position, it is usually interpreted as a 2nd singular person pronoun.

Finally, *tòi* can also occur in exclamative clauses to reinforce the speaker's expression of a sensation or an emotion:

- (17) a. *Che bèl che l'è, tòi!*
 how nice that it.CL-is *tòi*
 'How nice it is!'
- b. *Che fadiga, tòi!*
 what fatigue *tòi*
 'How exhausting!'

Miga, too, can occur in interrogative clauses, wherein it has two different possible functions: either mitigating the strength of a request, as in (18a), or expressing the speaker's surprise about something that he/she didn't expect (18b):

- (18) a. *No gavé miga dése euro?*
 not you.have.PL *miga* ten euros
 'Do you have ten euros?'
- b. *No saralo miga malà?*
 not will.be=he.CL *miga* sick
 'Is he sick? (I hope not)'

In both cases *miga* follows the negation *no* and the flexed verb.

Another pragmatic particle that occurs in interrogatives and imperatives is *mò*. Originating in the Latin adverb *MODO* 'just' (see, among others, Rohlfs 1969), *mò* is attested—often with a temporal meaning—in various Italian dialects (Poletto & Zanuttini 2010). In CT it can also have a pragmatic interpretation in direct yes-no questions (19), in direct wh- questions (20), and in imperative clauses (21):¹⁵

15 In other northern Italian varieties, like Badiot Ladin *mò* or other similar particles (*ma*, *pa*, *pö*) must be present for a positive imperative to be grammatical. According to Poletto & Zanuttini (2003: 21) this means that "in languages like Badiot movement of the imperative verb through the head of ModP is not sufficient to license this projection; a stronger requirement holds instead, namely that the specifier be filled as well, by an element with appropriate features."

- (19) *At finì el còmposito mò?*
 have=you.CL finished the homework mò
 'Have you finished your homework?'

 (20) *Quando vègnelo, mò?*
 when comes=he.CL mò
 'When is he coming?'

 (21) *Pòrteme el to libro mò!*
 bring.IMP=me.CL the your book mò
 'Bring me your book!'

The pragmatic function of *mò* is always connected to the speaker's point of view. In both yes-no (19) and wh- (20) questions, *mò* in sentence-final position is used when the speaker wants it to be understood that the situation that he/she is experiencing does not conform with his/her expectations. In (19), *mò* suggests that the speaker believes that the task should have been completed some time ago; in (20) *mò* expresses the speaker's opinion that a) the subject of the clause is late, and b) this delay may be due to some unfortunate event.

In imperatives (21), *mò* either expresses the speaker's opinion that his/her order must be obeyed immediately, and his/her presupposition that the addressee intends to disobey the order.¹⁶ The first interpretation is confirmed by the fact that temporal adverbs referring to a future time cannot occur in imperatives with *mò* (22):

- (22) **Pòrteme el to libro domàn mò!*
 bring.IMP=me.CL the your book tomorrow mò
 'Bring me your book tomorrow!'

Like *tòi*, *mò* can precede a right dislocated NP, but only in imperative clauses (23):

16 The same happens in Venetian. "In Venetian imperatives *mo* is sensitive to the time of the utterance, as it signals that the utterance time and the event time must coincide. In addition to this, the use of *mo* presupposes that the hearer does not intend to obey the speaker's order. The combination of these two factors, that is, the presupposition and the coincidence between utterance and performance time, yields a semantic effect characterized by Venetian informants as 'reinforcement of the order.'" (Poletto & Munaro 2002: 179).

- (23) *Pòrteme(lo) mò, el to libro!*
 bring.IMP=me.CL(=it.CL) mò the your book
 'Bring me your book!'

This particle never occurs in negative contexts (24 a–b):

- (24) a. **No portarme na nota mò!*
 not bring.INF=me.CL a mark mò
 'Don't get a bad mark!'
- b. **No at finì el còmputo, mò?*
 not have=you.CL finished the homework mò
 'Haven't you finished your homework?'

Finally, *mò* can never occur in embedded clauses (25a–b):

- (25) a. **La ghe vòl domandàr se i vèn mò.*
 she.CL them.DAT.CL wants ask if they.CL come mò
 'She wants to ask them whether they are coming.'
- b. **La gh'à comandà de star fèrmo mò*
 she.CL him.CL-has ordered of stay still mò
 'She ordered him not to move.'

Let us now turn to *pò*, which derives from the Latin POST 'after'. *Pò* occurs in direct yes-no (26a) and wh- (26b) questions, in which it has a pragmatic function:¹⁷

- (26) a. *Alo magnà pò?*
 has=he.CL eaten pò
 'Has he eaten?'
- b. *Quando alo magnà pò?*
 when has=he.CL eaten pò
 'When did he eat?'

17 In some northern varieties close to CT *pò* has lost its pragmatic function and has become an obligatory marker for wh-questions (Badiot), or for both wh- and yes-no questions (Gardenese); see Dohi (2019).

Pò occurs in many northern Italian dialectal interrogatives, in a wide variety of positions. In CT, as in Venetan, it is normally found in the sentence-final position while in some other Trentino areas it occurs in post-verbal position, as shown by the following example in the dialect spoken in Val di Non (Nòneso):¹⁸

- (27) *Chi èrel pò la pu*
 who was=it.CL *pò* the most
bèla? (Fondo, data recorded for VinKo)
 beautiful
 'Who was the most beautiful girl?'

In Pagotto, a Venetan dialectal variety described by Munaro & Poletto (2002: 116), the particle can occur in three different positions: initial, immediately after the interrogative pronoun, and final. The final *po* is used when the question is suspended, and the speaker intends to return to the topic (28a). *Po* immediately after the *wh*-item indicates that the speaker knows that the event has happened, but is asking for agreement (28b). Finally, *po* in the initial position indicates that the speaker did not expect the event in question (28c).

- (28) a. *Quando èli rivadi, pò?*
 when are=they.CL arrived *pò*
 'When did they arrive?'
 b. *Quando, pò, èli rivadi?*
 when *pò* are=they.CL arrived
 'When did they arrive?'
 c. *Pò, quando èli rivadi?*
pò when are=they.CL arrived
 'When did they arrive?'

In CT *pò* can only occur in sentence final position, where it may be followed by a right dislocated element. In this position, the particle entails the speaker's reference to a preceding communicative situation that has been left suspended and is taken up again:

¹⁸ In this dialect the particle cannot occur in yes-no questions:

(i) **Stau pò pu bèn?*
 are=you.CL *pò* more well
 'Are you better?' (Hack 2014: 65)

- (29) a. *Ndó èi nadi pò?*
 where are=they.CL gone *pò*
 'Where did they go?'
 b. *Èi nadi via pò, la Maria e el Carlo?*
 are=they.CL gone away *pò* the Maria and the Carlo
 'Did they leave, Maria and Carlo?'

Pò can also suggest that the speaker doesn't expect to receive an answer: as shown by (30), *pò* questions can receive the "can't-find-the-value" interpretation (Obenauer 2004), in particular when the verb is in the future tense:

- (30) *Ndó sarai pò?* (Cembra, ALD-II, 2)
 where will.be=they.CL *pò*
 'Where will they be?'

In CT *pò* does not follow the *wh*-item (31), except when the *wh*-item is *perché* 'why' (32):

- (31) * *Ndó pò èi nadi?*
 where *pò* are=they.CL gone
 'Where did they go?'
 (32) *Perché pò èlo na via?*
 why *pò* is=he.CL gone away
 'Why did he leave?'

In (32) the speaker expresses his/her surprise about an unexpected event. The particle has this same function when it is used immediately after an interrogative pronoun or adverb in isolation:¹⁹

- (33) *Quando / come / quanto / 'ndó / chi / che pò?*²⁰
 when how how.much where who what *pò*

19 *Pò*'s function as an expression of the speaker's surprise in these interrogatives is confirmed by a typical recursive play-count, which says: A. *La capussara la ga tre capussi*. B. *Cóme tre?* A. *Quanti pò senò?* B. *Quatro*. C. *Cóme quatro?* A. *Quanti pò senò?* C. *Sète*. D. *Cóme sète?* A. *Quanti pò senò?* ... (A. 'The woman who sells cabbages has three cabbages'. B. 'Why three?' A. 'How many *pò* otherwise?' B. 'Four.' C. 'Why four?' A. 'How many *pò* otherwise?' C. 'Seven.' D. 'Why seven?' A. 'How many *pò* otherwise?' ...).

20 Notably, in this case the pronoun 'what' can be realized as *che* (Aneggi 1984) or *còssa*, but

Like most of the pragmatic particles presented above, *pò* cannot occur in embedded clauses:

- (34) *El me a domandà quando (*pò) che i è nadi*
 he.CL me.DAT.CL has asked when *pò* that they.CL are gone
*via (*pò).*
 away *pò*
 'He asked me when they left.'

Unlike other pragmatic particles, *pò* can be used in negative questions:

- (35) *No magnet pò?*
 not eat=you.CL *pò*
 'Aren't you eating?'

Note that (35) expresses a pseudo-question, which corresponds to a statement of surprise.

Two other particles with pragmatic functions are used in imperatives: they are *vè* (a reduction of *vedi* 'see.IMP'), which can occur in both affirmative and negative imperatives (36a–b), and serves to reinforce the order expressed by the speaker, and *sta* / *sté* / *la/el staga* ('stay' in the 2nd SG and PL persons, and the 3rd SG person). The former particle (*vè*) can occur in both positive and negative imperatives; the others can only occur in negative imperatives (37a–b), where the sequence '*no* + *sta* / *sté* / *la/el staga* + (a) + infinitive' represents a very common, although noncompulsory, way to express prohibition in CT:

- (36) a. *Sta fërmo vè!*
 stay motionless *vè*
 'Don't move!'
- b. *No farlo vè!*
 not do=it.CL *vè*
 'Don't do it!'

can never occur in the reduced form *sa*, which is, however, commonly used when the verb is expressed (*sa fat pò?* 'what are you doing?').

- (37) a. *No sta nar via!*
 not stay go away
 'Don't go away!'

- b. *No la staga a preoccuparse, siora!* (Castelli 2015)
 not she.CL stay.SBJV to worry=se madam
 'Don't worry, Madam!'

Sta (*sté / la/el staga*) + infinitive is incompatible with the particles *tòi, mò* and *pò*, as shown in (38):

- (38) * *No sta farlo tòi / mò / pò*
 not stay do=it.CL *tòi mò pò*
 'Don't do it!'

10.4 The Modal Interpretation of the Enclitic *-(n)te*

CT shows a peculiar interrogative verbal inflected form that ends with *-nte* or *-te* in the 1st person singular and with *-te* in the 1st person plural.²¹

The examples in Table 49 show that the Trentino verbal system does not present subject proclitic forms for either of the 1st person forms. In interrogatives, *-te* joins verbs ending in a nasal consonant (1st plural; 1st singular for the present indicative of *essere* 'to be'); *-nte* joins the 1st singular person forms of verbs ending in a vowel.

The enclitic forms *-te/nte* must occur in both yes-no direct interrogatives and in *wh*-direct interrogatives and can co-occur with negation, and with the particle *pò*.²²

21 In some Venetan varieties the form is *-ti/-nti*. Marchesini (2015) reports that in the dialects spoken in the provinces of Vicenza, Padova and Rovigo the ending *-onti* is present for just three verbs: *aver* 'to have', *essare* 'to be' and *fare* 'to do'. Other Venetan examples are given in Zamboni (1984).

22 Chinellato (2004) suggests that in Trentino *-te* marks a subset of 1st person interrogatives and imperative sentences. A pragmatic restriction concerning similar forms in Veronese is proposed by Marchesini (2015). She notes that the *-enti* form is impossible in "out of the blue" contexts. Following proposals by Obenauer (2004 and 2006) and Garzonio (2004) concerning special questions, Marchesini identifies the following types of interrogative as preferring the *-enti* form: can't find the value; surprise/disapproval; rhetorical; interrog-

TABLE 49 The use of *-(n)te* with 1st person singular and 1st person plural verbs

Declarative 1sg.	Interrogative 1sg.	Declarative 1pl.	Interrogative 1pl.
<i>Són a pòsto.</i> I.am at place 'I'm fine.'	<i>Sónte a pòsto?</i> I.am= <i>te</i> at place 'Am I fine?'	<i>Sén a pòsto.</i> we.are at place 'We are fine.'	<i>Sénte a pòsto?</i> we.are= <i>te</i> at place 'Are we fine?'
<i>Ò fat bèn.</i> I.have done well 'I have done well.'	<i>Ònte fat bèn?</i> I.have= <i>te</i> done well 'Have I done well?'	<i>Avén fat bèn.</i> we.have done well 'We have done well.'	<i>Avénte fat bèn?</i> we.have= <i>te</i> done well 'Have we done well?'
<i>Fago bèn.</i> I.do well 'I do well.'	<i>Fàgonte bèn?</i> I.do= <i>te</i> well 'Do I do well?'	<i>Fén bèn.</i> we.do well 'We do well.'	<i>Fénte bèn?</i> we.do= <i>te</i> well 'Do we do well?'
<i>Narò a casa.</i> I.shall.go to home 'I shall go home.'	<i>Ndó narònte?</i> where I.shall.go= <i>te</i> 'Where shall I go?'	<i>Narén a casa.</i> we.shall.go to home 'We shall go home.'	<i>Ndó narénte?</i> where we.shall.go= <i>te</i> 'Where shall we go?'

These forms are attested in various old documents:

- (39) *Oimè, meschino, per che ancoi son vignuto qui?*
 dear-me miserable why today I.am come here
per che non sonte andato alla mia via
 why not I.am=*te* gone to-the my way
per che ò io bevudo e cum tal
 why have I drunk and with such
*homo?*²³ (La Catinia 1482, in Battisti, 1882–1914: 194)
 man
 'Dear me, miserable [me], why have I come here today?
 why didn't I follow my own path?
 why did I drink with such a man?'

ative imperatives and interrogative exclamatives. She adds to this list a very general (yes/no) type of question, which does not seem to be pragmatically marked.

- 23 In example (39) the 1st person singular of the verb *to be* is expressed in two different ways. In the first occurrence (*son vignuto*) the enclitic *-te* does not appear, while it is present in the second occurrence (*sonte andato*). Similar alternations are frequent in XV–XVI century documents.

They are also mentioned in several Trentino grammars and dictionaries (see (40) and (41)):

- (40) *Sonte? Onte? Sénte? Gavénte? Èronte? Èrente?*
 I.am=*te* I.have=*nte* we.are=*te* we.have=*te* I.was=*nte* we.were=*te*
 'Am I? Do I have? Are we? Do we have? Was I? Were we?'
Sarònte? Sarénte? Saressénte? (Quaresima, 1965: 250)
 I.shall.be=*nte* we.shall.be=*te* we.would.be=*te*
 Shall I be? Shall we be? Should we be?

- (41) a. *Beorànte?* (Aneggi 1984, s.v. CHE)
 we.shall.drink=*te*
 'Shall we drink?'

- b. *Che sonte mi?* (Aneggi 1984, s.v. CHE)
 what am=*te* I
 'What am I?'

- c. *Sénte levadi?* (Aneggi 1984, s.v. LEVÀR)
 we.are=*te* got.up
 'Have we got up?'

- d. *Ma che volénte far?* (Aneggi 1984, s.v. MOSCA)
 but what we.want=*te* do
 'But what do we want to do?'

Loporcaro & Vigolo (1999: 4–8), based on Ascoli (1873: 416–417) and Rohlfs (1968: § 610), suggest that the 3rd person plural *SUNT* influenced the forms of the 1st person singular, which became *sunt* > *sunto* with an epitetive vowel -o, and *sonte* with an enclitic vowel that derives from *ego* (in a first phase the new forms appeared in free variation with *son*). According to Loporcaro and Vigolo, Trentino dialects had developed a specialization of the form *sonte*, which became an interrogative marker, first for the singular person, and later for the plural person. Alternatively, according to Cordin (2018), one could hypothesize two interrogative forms, one 1st person singular and one 1st person plural, both originating from a subject enclitic pronoun: *e*, which is derived from *EGO* > *EO*, for the singular person, *ne* or *e* (which is derived from *NE*) for the 1st person plural.²⁴

24 The form *ne* for the 1st person plural clitic pronoun is attested in the interrogative conjug-

Verbs in both the conditional and the subjunctive show an asymmetry between the 1st person singular and the 1st person plural forms: while the singular *-te/-nte* form is not compatible with conditional and subjunctive (see (42a) and (43a)), the plural *-te* form is (see (42b) and (43b)):

- (42) a. *Sarìa mi el pu lènto?*
 I.would.be I the more slow
 'Would I be the slowest?'

- b. *Saréssente nói i pu lènti?*
 we.would.be=*te* we the more slow
 'Would we be the slowest?'

- (43) a. *El créde che gabia / sibia ...*
 he.CL believes that I.have.SBJV I.am.SBJV
 'He thinks that I have, that I am ...'

- b. *El créde che gavénte / sénte ...* (Groff 1955)
 he.CL believes that we.have=*te* we.are=*te*
 'He thinks that we have, that we are ...'

The form that marks 1st person interrogative sentences in Trentino is also present in some non-interrogative sentences. In these clauses, which express an exhortation, the speaker is strongly involved in the speech act. Like interrogatives, exhortatives are non-informative and non-assertive.

- (44) *Pensante! Sentinte! Nénte!* (Rohlf, 1968: § 608)
 we.think=*te* we.listen=*te* we.go=*te*
 'Let's think!' 'Let's listen!' 'Let's go!'

- (45) a. *Disénte che no l'è nada bèn.*
 we.say=*te* that not it.CL-is gone well
 'Let's say that things have not gone well.'

ation in some areas of Trentino (see Quaresima 1965: 254). Rohlf (1968: § 453) presents a 1st person plural subject clitic *ne* in the Torino dialect. The 1st person plural clitic subject *e* is also attested in old Genovese (see Rohlf 1968: § 447), in Lombard (see Vai 2014: 19; 22), and in the variety spoken in Agordo (Munaro 2001: 155).

- b. *Meténte ...* (Aneggi 1984, s.v. MÉTER)
 we.admit=*te*
 'Let's admit ...'

Benincà (1989) highlights the strong connection between 2nd and 3rd person clitic inversion and certain types of structure—represented in (46) as elements of an implicational hierarchy—composed of six structural clause types grouped into two sub-fields:

- (46) *disjunctive—hypothetical—optative* > *presuppositional—exclamative—interrogative*

The six different clause types each express a different “mental attitude of the speaker with respect to the propositional content expressed”.²⁵ The hierarchy, read from right to left, reflects “a decreasing degree of salience of the event's truth value for the speaker”.²⁶

Trentino sentences with verbs ending in *-te/-nte* also confirm the hierarchy proposed for 2nd and 3rd person inverted subject clitics in the case of 1st person clitics.

Some Trentino examples, however, differ markedly from those discussed by Benincà and Munaro: in CT sentences that correspond to the clause types on the left side of the hierarchy *-te* forms are compatible with a subordinating complementiser. They are, in fact, found in embedded sentences with a subjunctive verb which are introduced by the complementiser *che* and depend on causative, epistemic, asking or willing verbs, or those that express a command (47):

- (47) *L'à dit che preparénte i ossi.* (Quaresima, 1965: 252)
 he.CL-has said that we.prepare=*te* the bones
 'He said that we have to prepare the bones.'

The event expressed in the embedded clause in (47) is non-veridical: it is not a matter of fact, as in the case of assertive sentences; it is related to the perspective of the main clause subject, who believes that a certain event will occur, or wants it to, or is requesting that it be brought about. The embedded sentence is a representation of subjective propositional content.

²⁵ Munaro (2001: 170).

²⁶ Munaro (2001: 170).

Finally, *-te* also occurs in sentences such as (48):

- (48) *Pur che tasente e i altri i*
 as.long as we.are.silent=*te* and the others they.CL
tasa. (Quaresima, 1965: 251)
 are.silent
 'As long as we are silent and the others are silent!'

Example (48) has a concessive interpretation: a condition or a wish (to be silent) is evaluated as necessary to realize (an unexpressed) something.

The ending *-te* in the subjunctive verbs illustrated in (47–48) could be interpreted as a subjunctive suffix resulting from the reanalysis of 1st person plural subject enclitics.²⁷ It belongs to a class of morphemes with interpretive properties similar to those of 1st person plural enclitic subjects. This would be a possible explanation for the absence of 1st person singular verbs in the clauses on the left side of the hierarchy: disjunctives, hypothetical sentences, optatives. In contrast, 1st singular enclitic pronouns can only occur in monoclausal sentences, i.e. on the right side of the hierarchy (46): presuppositional clauses, exclamatives, interrogatives.

27 Standard forms given by Groff (1955) for 1st person plural present subjunctives ending in *-ante/inte*, confirming the hypothesis of a reanalysis.

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